UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

CULTURAL CHANGES IN THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

A Study in Cultural Sociology

FREDERICK DENTON DOVE

A THESIS

IN SOCIOLOGY

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA

1932

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By

Frederick Denton Dove

DEDICATED

TO

MY MOTHER AND FATHER
WHO TAUGHT ME TO LOVE
THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

GROUP CULTURE

Adequate explanation of any significant change in the group life of a people necessarily involves a cultural orientation. To isolate group habits or characteristics or institutions, from their natural and normal setting for the purpose of analysis, is to create social distortions and produce cultural configurations which belie their looks. Every group of people worthy of being known as a separate group, has a right to be known by its whole nature; a complete composite of its social traits. Sociological analysis of any group of people therefore, becomes a process of following thru all the various forms and functions of group life to interpret them as they are. This may perhaps be properly designated as the field of Cultural Sociology.

DEFINITION OF CULTURE

The term *Culture* in this connection is used to mean, in its most general sense, *the way people live.* Clark Wissler has aptly phrased it "the mode of life" of a people.[1] Wilson D. Wallis has defined the term more specifically thus:

> "Culture is the life of a people as typified in contacts, institutions, and equipment. It includes characteristic concepts and behavior, customs, and traditions. . . . Culture, then means all those things, institutions, material objects, typical reactions to situations, which characterize a people and distinguish them from other people."[2]

Tylor likewise covered the whole range of social behavior with his definition of culture as

> "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[3]

To study the culture of a people, is to study the actual vital

1. Clark Wissler, Man and Culture, p. 1.
2. Wallis and Willey, Readings in Sociology, p. 13.
3. E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, I. p. 1.

processes of its social life. The relative significance of social diagnoses and evaluations rests on analysis of culture. Recent emphasis in sociological literature on cultural interpretation of social phenomena, gives point to the contention that the explanation of "social patterns" involves a culture study of the people who live by them.

"To understand the social behavior of man, it is necessary to understand culture, for the social life of man is rooted in his culture, and depends upon it."[4]

"When the term culture is used in social science, it does not imply values or ratings, as higher or lower, ignorant or enlightened, etc., but stands for that which is expressed in the term 'habits and customs of a tribe.' . . .

There will be a body of customs—ways of doing things—which when observed, will in their totality, comprise the culture of the group. . . .

So we may accept the working hypothesis that culture is a phenomenon of the human group and that every standardized procedure in the tribe is an element of its culture."[5]

Some writers go so far as to define sociology as the study of culture.[6] Others attach to the culture concept, a meaning synonymous with civilization and social heritage.[7] Suffice it to say

4. Wallis and Willey, Readings in Sociology, p. 3. See also Barnes and Davis, Readings in Sociology, pp. 616-713.
5. Clark Wissler, Introduction to Social Anthropology, pp. 12, 13.
6. Malcolm M. Willey, The Validity of the Culture Concept, Amer. Jr. of Soc., Sept., 1929, pp. 204-219.
   "Sociology is the study of culture and the processes involved in man's adjustment to it," p. 205.
   "The study of culture—the processes of its origin and its growth, its spread and its perpetuation,—constitutes the study of Sociology," p. 208.
   Lundburg, Anderson, Bain, and Others, Trends in American Sociology, p. 68.
   "In fact 'culture' bids well to supersede 'society,' 'cultural,' and 'social,' in the sociologist's vocabulary."
   Ibid., p. 173.
   "The study of human civilizations and culture is not only a legitimate branch of Sociology, but probably its most important one."
7. Ralph E. Turner, America in Civilization, pp. 101, 102. Edward Sapir, Culture, Genuine and Spurious, American Jr. of Soc., Jan., 1924, pp. 401-417.

that we are indebted to the cultural anthropologists for much of both method and materials of Cultural Sociology, and the writer readily agrees with the venerable Anthropologist, A. L. Kroeber, when he says,

"Culture is not merely a by-product of social life. It is that social life itself and represents the tone, color, quality, mannerisms and customs of the group life of a people."[8]

CULTURE PATTERNS AND GROUP DIFFERENCES

The elements of culture of a given group, or traits of culture, as they are usually styled, when grouped together to present a composite picture of the group, constitute what may be termed a "culture pattern."[9] The nature of the complex social pattern will naturally depend upon the nature and combination of the elemental culture traits of which it is composed. It is upon this basis that we may account for recognized differences between groups. The principal culture traits which go to make up the larger patterns of behavior of a group of people are therefore the factors which distinguish it from all other groups, and give it its characteristic social qualities.[10] The addition or elimination or modification of a single culture trait affects the social pattern of which it is a part, and hence the whole culture equation to which it belongs. Culture traits are interdependent and have little meaning apart from their social context.[11]

ORIGINS OF GROUP CULTURE

Each culture group has its own unique history portraying the steps of its development on the one hand, and furnishing successive points of departure for cultural changes on the other. In seeking the origins of group patterns, the evidence points in two general directions. There are certain peculiar inner

8. A. L. Kroeber, Article in Wallis and Willey, Readings in Sociology, p. 13.
9. See Melville J. Herskovits, The Cultural Pattern Concept and Its Importance to Sociology. Social Forces, Sept., 1925, pp. 60-64. See also Kimbal Young, Social Psychology, pp. 1 and 25.
10. The term "ethos" was employed by Sumner to indicate this "totality of characteristic traits" which differentiates a group from other groups. See Young, Social Psychology, p. 30.
11. See Wilson D. Wallis, Culture and Progress, p. 22.

developments of the social group which tend to shape its culture, and outside of the group itself there are other forces at work just as potent, and often more so, which help to shape its modes of life.[12] In either of these general directions it would be exceedingly difficult to trace the path of cultural growth with its vicissitudes thru the tangled web of evolution, to its present status in any society. But it is apparent that whatever culture traits a group of people in modern life possesses, they have been derived thru a long process of accumulation, and acculturation,[13] of experimentation, elimination, and adaptation.[14] From within the group the process of selection has been carried on thru the medium of social heritage, so that, looking for the origin of things cultural, we seldom find a specific social trait born within a given group in recognizable form at a specific time and place. Before its form becomes recognizable as a social trait it has gone thru the mould of change and adaptation which makes it a part of the whole culture configuration of that group. Group culture is constantly in a process of becoming. Thru social heritage, each generation exercises its right of selection of those habits and practices which please it most, and stamps them unmistakably into the life of the next generation. The culture patterns of any group in any generation come not of its choosing but of its heritage. Time and space are practically eliminated and culture patterns today are soon lost in the great social "mélange" of the modern world.[15]

Thus man is at the mercy of civilization. "Not only is he at the mercy of civilization, but he generally remains either partly or wholly unaware of what he is thus forced to accept."[16] Every civilized society has its system of institutions and regulations for the purpose of safeguarding and propagating its culture, and insuring its permanency. Culture is not individual but social

12. See Franz Boaz, Methods of Ethnology, Amer. Anthropologist—N. S. XXII, p. 317.
13. Wallis and Willey, Readings in Sociology, p. 52. "Acculturation is the process of adjusting to culture."
14. F. H. Hankins, The Racial Basis of Civilization, p. 155.
15. See R. B. Dixon, Building of Cultures, pp. 281, 282.
16. See Alexander Goldenweiser, Early Civilization, pp. 15-20.

in character. Wilson D. Wallis calls it "supra-individual." He considers the individual as "the carrier and transmitter of culture, who may modify it, but no individual creates a major portion of the culture in which he participates." [17]

It must not be assumed, however, that, because culture functions in terms of group behavior, the influence of individual initiative is negligible. It will be shown in a later chapter that the influence of a single strong personality sometimes turns the culture tide of a group of people into a new channel, and the old forms undergo radical changes in a short time. Some of these changes become permanent in the life of the group.

CULTURAL EVOLUTION

Thus far we have spoken mainly of the origins of culture from within the group itself. There remain the outer influences of other cultures and culture traits which may make their impact upon the deeprooted heritage of any group completely changing its tone or color. But this involves us in a discussion of cultural change and the ways in which changes evolve. In numerous ways the culture patterns of a people may be modified and enriched thru contact with other groups. Rome undoubtedly absorbed much of the Greek culture and preserved it for centuries after she had destroyed the organizations and institutions of the people who developed it. The Jews, while being tossed about as slaves, and prisoners, and servants of people with sharper swords, made lasting contributions of religion and sacred literature which have colored the whole scheme of religious culture patterns from that day to this.

Diffusion of social habits from one group into another may come about just as unconsciously as the individual acquires his social heritage, which has already been pointed out. It may even operate to transform completely the group modes against stern opposition of the group itself toward acceptance of outside traits. The process follows rather closely the three stages of change suggested in the old poetic adage, "first we endure, then

17. Wallis, Culture and Progress, pp. 9, 10.

pity, and then embrace." Whatever the means by which it comes, two groups of people living in close contact, and subjects of the same physical environment will absorb certain culture traits, one from the other. It would not be difficult to find examples of this cultural diffusion in dialect, in business habits, in mannerisms, and even in religious practices, where we would least suspect the yielding of culture patterns without the consent of authority or change of creed.

The direction of the flow of culture between groups depends upon the relative strength and adaptability of their respective culture patterns. Clark Wissler makes the significant suggestion that " while two or more rather diverse culture types may occupy a region simultaneously, the type of culture possessing the greatest solidarity and vigor tends to lead and thus become the center of influence."[18] A sort of " cultural osmosis " ensues.[19]

Social contact produces group introspection and comparisons. It may induce the development of an attitude of contempt for the new, a defensive attitude, or a pleasing surprise and open-mindedness in observation and study of the new which leads to acceptance of the new culture traits, or change of the old. It at least is beset with possibilities. There may be unconscious drifting or fusion of culture patterns, or assimilation imperceptible to those who experience it, but none the less real in effective cultural transitions. There are also striking instances in which culture patterns are carried over from one group to another almost bodily and unchanged.[20] Juxtaposition of groups, however, does not guarantee cultural diffusion or assimilation save in limited respects. Religion, morals, social ideals and civic interests may be limited to a set of institutional controls arising out of the same psychology which perpetuates and defends them against intrusions and heresies. Particularly have religious groups resisted the forces which tend to alter their modes and practices, especially where church ritual and doctrine are the

18. See McDougall, Is America Safe for Democracy? pp. 90-102.
19. Wissler, Introduction to Social Anthropology, p. 355.
20. See Dixon, Building of Cultures, p. 112. " Religious traits . . . not infrequently pass into a new culture almost unchanged."

subjects of proposed change. "When a custom, an art, or an opinion is fairly started in the world, disturbing influences may long affect it so slightly that it may keep its course from generation to generation as a stream once settled in its bed will flow for ages. This is mere permanence of culture; and the special wonder about it is that the change and revolution of human affairs should have left so many of its feeblest rivulets to run so long. . . . "

"In dealing with such materials, experience of what actually happens is the main guide, and direct history has to teach us, first and foremost, how old traits hold their ground in the midst of a new culture which certainly would never have brought them in, but on the contrary presses hard to thrust them out."[21] A culture may enforce strict conformity to patterns of life by fostering beliefs and traditions arbitrarily without regard to adaptability or usefulness. It may thus bring about its own destruction. Ultra-conservatism in any group has ultimately led to the decadence, if not complete extinction of its culture. Culture must be adaptive and subject to change in order to live and prosper. Where culture patterns remain static over a long period of time, the group gradually slips from under its confinements into freer atmosphere.[22] Progress often depends on release from old patterns of life.[23] Groups sometimes refuse to adjust their beliefs and institutions to current needs because of sentimental loyalties to the old customs. They dislike to see them disappear. They take on an air of sacredness in their thinking.

Thus primitive practices survive, and culture traits tend to persist long after they have outgrown their usefulness.[24] "Survivals in any culture also foster conservatism or inertia. Survivals are traits which in their present form have lost their original utility . . . relics of a previous cultural state."[25] But "social habits," like individual habits, are accompanied by

21. E. B. Tylor, Primitive Culture, I, pp. 70, 71.
22. See J. K. Folsom, Culture and Social Progress, pp. 134-140.
23. See F. J. Teggart, The Processes of History, pp. 151, 152.
24. See J. K. Folsom, Culture and Social Progress, p. 51. R. M. Maciver, Community, p. 161. J. O. Hertzler, Social Institutions, p. 188.
25. Wallis and Willey, Readings in Sociology, p. 53.

deep-seated emotional force. The sudden disruption of social habits is usually accompanied by violent emotional disturbance within the group. Cultural adjustment to change of whatever nature, to be socially healthful, must of necessity be a gradual process. To force sudden change in cultural patterns is to threaten the whole culture equilibrium of the group. This fact is often overlooked by the social reformers, ministers, missionaries, educators, political agencies, and religious bodies.[26] It is not an uncommon experience to observe the sudden attempted change in group organization or policies resulting in unsettled, poorly adjusted procedure, in which the group seems to be trying to catch up with itself. Ogburn has styled this predicament "cultural lag." In a healthy society the forms must not steer too far ahead of their functions; when culture patterns are revised gradually, the group attitudes can usually be modified to sustain them. "It seems probable that a too rapidly changing culture is just as disturbing to group life as gluttony to physiological functioning."[26] Culture may be either directive or delimiting. It may make it easy for the individual to share the responsibilities of his society, or it may inhibit his coöperation. A culture may make life free and happy and productive, or it may cramp one's purposes, create misery, and destroy the natural functions of genius. Narrow and stern social patterns tend to destroy initiative and generate antagonisms.[27]

In social isolation, culture forms persist longer and change less than where groups are thrown into frequent contact with each other. Isolation is conducive to cultural inertia. But the places of isolation are growing increasingly few, so that any group of people finds it more difficult today to preserve a distinctive culture in which the culture traits of other groups have not found root. "There is thus a tendency for culture to increase in complexity and to accumulate."[28]

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26. See Wissler, Introduction to Social Anthropology, pp. 359-361.
27. See Folsom, Culture and Social Progress, pp. 112, 113. Wallis and Willey, Readings in Sociology, p. 31. L. K. Frank, American Journal of Sociology, Jan., 1931, p. 614.
28. See Wallis and Willey, p. 49.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS GROUP CULTURE

"Institutions are the great culture carriers . . . the depositories of the social heritage, the media of its operation and perpetuation. In fact institutions are themselves a crystallization of the cultural evolution of a group. . . .

The great recognized values in the social life of a group, especially the higher spiritual, moral, and æsthetic values, the most precious parts of the heritage of the race, are also embodied in their institutions, and thru them are safeguarded and transmitted to oncoming generations. . . .

Almost every cultural activity is performed thru institutions. . . .

Hence a group's culture is largely the summation of its institutions, and its institutions are largely an embodiment of its culture. . . .

History is largely a record of social processes that leave their permanent effects in the form of new institutions or modifications of old ones."[1]

This statement of Hertzler includes all the institutions of society. For purposes of the present study our interpretation must be limited to those institutions which have become the fundamental carriers of that type of culture commonly called religion.

Religion is the "cult of the sacred," as Marett has aptly phrased it.[2] It covers all the rites and ceremonies which have arisen out of man's experiences concerning his relationship to that supernatural power he calls God. Its influence is far-reaching. Scarcely a human act has escaped classification at one time or another into that realm of human behavior styled religious. The same unseen "Spirit of God," which, thru the medium of man's uncertain genius, has at times instigated incredible persecutions and human slaughter, has also inspired the manifold

1. J. O. Hertzler, Social Institutions, pp. 30-32.
2. Ogburn and Goldenweiser, The Social Sciences, and Their Interpretation, p. 92.

expressions of human sympathy, soothed the pains of sufferers, and banished misery from the lives of men. By its secret influence the certainty of future retribution, or the hope of reward, has influenced in some degree, every phase of human life. At various times and in divers manners, man's religion has consisted in the ways he works, the times he prays, the food he eats, the clothes he wears, the people he serves, the wars he makes, the pain he bears, or the pleasure he pursues. Its forms are legion, but the surest thing about it is, that all these things go to make religion. It is the culture that evolves out of the laboratory of experience with that which men believe to be sacred. Harry Emerson Fosdick, speaking of the sacred Book of Christian literature, the Bible, reminds us of the fact that "this amazing literature came warmly out of human experience. That is its glory and its strength. Touch it anywhere and you can feel the pulse of men and women in their joys and sorrows, struggles, aspirations, faiths, despairs. The whole book is 'blood-tinctured,' of a veined humanity."[3]

No other influence or force in human life is so powerful to direct the course of modes and customs of a group of people, as the religion they live by. Walter Rauschenbusch some years ago wrote of the cultural influence of religion thus:

"The religious spirit is a factor of incalculable power in the making of history. In the idealistic spirits that lead and in the masses that follow, the religious spirit always intensifies thought, enlarges hope, unfetters daring, evokes the willingness to sacrifice, and gives coherence in the fight. Under the warm breath of religious faith, all social institutions become plastic. The religious spirit removes mountains and tramples on impossibilities. Unless the economic and intellectual factors are strongly reinforced by religious enthusiasm, the whole social movement may prove abortive, and the new era may die before it comes to birth."[4]

Religion has not always lightened the path of life, or relieved its burdens, or alleviated its sufferings. Men have blundered thru the most pathetic errors in the name of religion and fought

3. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Adventurous Religion, p. 94.
4. Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis—Introduction, p. 12.

their way thru the maze of veritable hell, in the attempt to appease the "wrath of God," which they later came to know only as their silly, superstitious fears. With the major emphasis on atonement for sins against God and man, religion developed a system of idealism and ritual to preserve it, which has often fallen far short of fostering religious liberty or intellectual freedom. Religious teaching has oftentimes proved to be "a gigantic obstacle in the path of civilization. Indeed the whole career of religion among civilized folk is in a measure the story of the struggle to remove that obstacle."[5] On the other hand, the persistent emphasis of religion thru the ages on moral codes and ceremonies, symbolizing the highest ideals of its strongest personalities, has undoubtedly saved civilization from many a perilous adventure, and perhaps from utter ruin. In his recent book entitled "Man's Social Destiny," Charles A. Ellwood defines religion as "that phase of culture which is concerned with the highest personal and social values."[6]

A brief retrospect upon the things we prize most highly in modern culture will reveal the beginnings of art, literature, education, and science, deeply rooted in the soil of religion and nurtured by it.

"Religion clothed and adorned the cold nakedness of primitive existence with shreds and patches of beauty. All that grace and color which transmutes mere existence into life—in a word, Art—may truly be said to have arisen out of religion. Sculpture had its origin in idol-making, music in psalm-singing, drama in legend-telling, and dancing in the seasonal worship of the gods. . . . It may seem to us incredibly rude, this conglomeration of terrors and hopes, of clutchings and gropings, of stupidities and yearnings, which for want of a better name we call Primitive Religion. But for all that it was holy—for it saved mankind."[7]

Thus religion, by its very nature, is a powerful factor in determining culture.

DENOMINATIONALISM AND CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

It follows then, that the church, which is the organized ex-

5. Lewis Browne, This Believing World, p. 54.
6. Charles A. Ellwood, Man's Social Destiny, p. 185.
7. Ibid., p. 56.

pression of religion, is an institution of tremendous importance in determining cultural developments.[8]

The Christian church, and particularly the Protestant wing of the Christian church, has been broken up into numerous sects and denominations, each of which exercises its controlling influence directly upon its own group of adherents, and directly or indirectly upon all other individuals and groups who come within its functional range.[9]

The margin of distinction between certain denominations is very minute. In fact a group may, in the course of time, completely lose its distinctive qualities and still retain its nominal identity as a separate group. It is not unusual in tracing the history of denominations, to find small groups of its members protesting against its practices and swinging off to organize a new society. But later, finding the subject of their protest removed from the original body, or themselves in complete accord with its practices, they are reluctant to return to the mother organization. This tendency toward religious rebellion has been the source of numerous small sects and denominations springing up within the church, since the days when the first great schism occurred which parted the ways between Christianity and Judaism. The second great division came with the Protestant Reformation (1517-1647).[10] Since that time the history of the Christian church has been almost a continuous process of separation, subdivision, and reorganization. In one sense of the word, "denominationalism thus represents the moral failure of Christianity."[11] During the last decade or two, however, we can observe a slowly developing tendency toward reunion and coördination, which tendency is very probably the indirect result of a more dynamic tendency toward consolidation in the realm of industry and political organizations, rather than a movement with native origin within the church.

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8. See Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis, Introduction, p. XII.
9. The last Federal Census of Religious Bodies lists 212 distinct denominations in the U. S.—Census of Religious Bodies, 1926, p. 13.
10. John W. Moncrief, A Short History of the Christian Church, p. 283 ff.
11. Niebuhr, H. Richard, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 25.

Small groups may exert more vital directive influences toward controlling the behavior of the individual members than could possibly come from the larger centralized bodies, because they are localized and more responsive to the local needs of smaller groups. Individual personality counts for more in a small group, and leadership is usually more democratic. Where group life is democratic, culture patterns are more flexible than they are in a highly centralized organization.

The sociological structure of denominationalism is cultural. As has already been intimated, denominational differentiation is a matter of distinctions in culture patterns, which find expression in the modes and practices, the ceremonies and rituals, of the group.

There is large overlapping between group patterns of different denominations. Many of the beliefs and doctrines and forms of worship are fundamentally the same for all denominations of the Christian church. They use the same literature, sing the same songs, worship the same God, and attempt to exemplify the same Christ. Their essential differences are in methods of procedure and peculiar practices in their respective religious endeavors. Method of baptism, and form of communion, are two major variants among denominations, and let it be remembered that these are merely *method* and *form* of religious group customs. Seldom do we find the chief distinguishing characteristics of a denomination in its fundamental doctrines. Usually they consist mostly in the social habits and modes of living which the members of the group adopt as means of demonstrating their religious faith. Any real distinction between religious groups becomes apparent somewhere in the process of living the types of life prescribed by those groups. Such distinctions are essentially sociological and cultural, and may or may not be essentially religious.

In certain denominations, however, the whole fabric of social life is peculiarly woven to the culture patterns outlined on the background of doctrines and beliefs. The Church of the Brethren, the Quakers, and the Mennonites, are good examples of

this type, and each of these denominations furnishes a fruitful field for the study of Cultural Sociology in the field of religion. The first of these, the Church of the Brethren, is the special group for cultural interpretation in the present volume.

SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF RELIGIOUS GROUP CULTURE

It is commonly assumed that the sole determinants of religious group patterns are doctrinal; that they are based upon fundamental religious concepts; and that any significant change in church practices must find justification in vital changes in creed. It shall be the purpose of the writer to show that there are many *social* factors which must be taken into account in order to explain the origin and nature of religious groups and the changes which take place within them; that the real determinants of religious group culture are not so much doctrinal as they are sociological; not dependent so much on religious conviction, as they are upon social circumstances.

Beliefs, concepts, sentiments, ideals, and the like, are readily conceded to be controlling factors in religious group life as they are in any type of behavior. But they are secondary factors, dependent in origin, development, and function, upon the raw materials growing out of social situations and conditions as primary sources. Religious beliefs grow out of tested experiences in the realm of relationship of man to man, or man to God. Doctrines, ideals, ethics, and morals, are cast in terms to fit the needs of those who are affected by them. They follow closely a pain and pleasure philosophy socially. Dr. J. L. Gillin, in a sociological dissertation on "The Dunkers," printed in 1906, called attention to the practical basis of doctrine among the early Protestant sects in Germany. Their reaction against scholastic dogmatism and intolerable social conditions brought the emphasis of doctrine to matters of conduct. "Consequently, their doctrines have to do more with conduct than with dogmas, and they are interested in church organization and church rites rather than in theology."[1]

Churches are utilitarian organizations, just as other social

1. John Lewis Gillin, The Dunkers, p. 23.

institutions, and take on forms and patterns moulded from the cultural materials of the groups using them. Sects and denominations grow up thru the concerted efforts of groups of individuals seeking appropriate adjustment patterns as suitable forms to govern their religious experience.

"Back of the divergencies of doctrine one must look for the conditions which make now the one, now the other interpretation appear more reasonable or, at least, more desirable. Regarding theology from this point of view one will discover how the exigencies of church discipline, the demands of national psychology, the effect of social tradition, the influence of cultural heritage, and the weight of economic interest, play their role in the definition of religious truth. The importance of such elements is now generally recognized when the history of nations is under discussion. It is too often disregarded when denominational histories are written or sectarian differences investigated." [2]

Changes in group patterns are usually prompted by social situations which reveal the inadequacy of existing culture codes to produce results in religious practices which are socially satisfying. The church, as we have previously pointed out, is a social institution and is conditioned by outside cultural tendencies more frequently than it conditions them.

"The church as an inclusive social group is closely allied with national, economic, and cultural interests; by the very nature of its constitution it is committed to the accommodation of its ethics to the ethics of civilization. . . .

Doctrines and practices change with the mutations of social structure, not vice versa." [3]

Factors which give direction to, or cause changes in, culture, are of paramount importance in this study, since the principal thesis here is to account for the changes, or the lack of them, in that particular group of churchmen known as the Church of the Brethren. Upon what grounds can we account for the cultural fidelity that sprang up with a small group of religionists on German soil, was transplanted to America, maintained and propagated itself among this people with little change, for two

2. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, pp. 16, 17.
3. Ibid., pp. 18-21.

full centuries of the most formative period in American history, and then in the relatively short period of twenty-five or thirty years, underwent remarkable and revolutionary changes? To answer this question it will be necessary to take into account, some of the major social determinants in the developments of culture. A general survey of certain of these social forces is offered here, by way of orientation.

ETHNIC BACKGROUND

Religious group affiliation may be a matter of germ plasm from a biological viewpoint. Such a statement seems absurd at first thot, and of course it would be obviously futile to attempt anything more than a very general classification of peoples into religious groups on the basis of hereditary characteristics. It would be equally absurd, however, to deny that being born into this or that race or national group, has anything to do with one's church affiliation. So far as the writer is aware, there is no particular kind or quality of germ cell which produces Presbyterianism, or Methodism, or Lutheranism, or Catholicism, or Judaism. On the other hand it is not by chance alone that we have come to associate Irish and Catholic, Scotch and Presbyterian, German and Lutheran, Arab and Mohammedan, Hebrew and Jewish, et cetera. Experience has shown that the probability of relationship between certain ethnic groups and corresponding religious groups, in many instances justifies scientific predictions.

It has previously been pointed out that culture patterns are developed and adjusted to meet the peculiar needs of the group concerned. Racial characteristics are powerful culture determinants, because they tend to create cultural adjustments both by biological repetition of traits, and sociological adaptation and preservation of those traits. Ethnic group habits are based on characteristics which are rooted deeply in the hereditary traits of its racial stock, and hence do not change readily. Religious experiences involve feelings, emotions, sentiments, temperaments, volitions, etc., those traits or characteristics of mind which become the permanent earmarks of differentiation for ethnic groups. It will be seen, therefore, that the ethnic background of any

particular religious group or denomination, furnishes some evidence as to its cultural history, and becomes in some measure a determining factor in its cultural progress. It is not offered here as the most important element, but merely as one among other determining influences.[4] Indeed in many groups which are composed of a wide variety of ethnic stocks, its influence may be negligible in cultural developments. But where a group is born of a single ethnic origin and its racial background easily determined, the modes and practices which it devises as the carriers of its religious life will undoubtedly be found to harmonize in basic culture patterns with the distinctive features of its ethnic background. Striking examples of this fact can be found in tracing out the cultural habits of the several German sects which took root in this country in the latter part of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, following the religious persecutions in Europe after the Reformation. Such important culture carriers as language, symbolism, and church ritual, were transplanted almost bodily to the new habitat of the groups as they migrated. Even now, after two centuries and more of change and transformation in American culture, it is not difficult to find clear traces of German influence in many American communities. The Church of the Brethren grew from one of those German sects, and there are communities of this denomination in which the German language predominates even today. Such organizations as the Pennsylvania German Society have aided materially in the encouragement and perpetuation of the original characteristics these groups derived from the ethnic ancestry in Germany.

Further evidence along this line will be given later in tracing the origin of Brethren culture patterns. The suggestions given thus far are sufficient to indicate a clear and unmistakable ethnic coloring in certain religious group patterns.

SOCIAL HERITAGE

Countless social qualities have at various times, by many

4. See Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, pp. 106-124. Wissler, Man and Culture, p. 296.

writers, been expressed by the term " social heritage." Its bounds extend from the child's unconscious imitation of its parents to the most intricate phases of deliberate choice of the scientist in selecting from the great storehouse of classified materials placed at his disposal by the generations of the past. Wherever one smites the rock of human history, there issues forth a stream of human experience by which he may gauge his own behavior. Man has learned to prize the experiences of his forefathers among his richest treasures. Most of the useful work thus far accomplished in the social sciences has been the interpretation and classification of human experiences, and we count all this as a heritage thru the channel of social processes. Whether thru the direct intercourse of individuals and groups, or thru the legacy of scientific literature, each generation fashions its culture patterns from the rich heritage of accumulative culture forms to which the last generation made it heir.

The degree of civilization or the cultural progress of any group of people may be said to depend upon its cultural heritage—material and non-material—and its ability to use this heritage to develop appropriate adjustment patterns.[5] The closer the social contacts and the more direct the means of communication, the more varied and changeable the culture patterns become. Social amalgamation sets in and a liberalized culture evolves where groups live in close contact. Conversely, we may justly assume that social isolation, whether by social or physical distance,[6] tends to narrow the effective selection of social heritage and slow down the process of cultural evolution.[7] Cultural conservatism is the inevitable result of social isolation, and fixation of old culture patterns takes place unless environmental change necessitates their modification.

In its broadest sense therefore, social heritage may include the whole social environment.[8] In a restricted sense it may be

5. Davis, Barnes and others, Introduction to Sociology, pp. 504, 505.
6. " Social Distance " is a term recently introduced into sociological literature to represent social distinctions caused by cultural differences.
7. Wissler, Man and Culture, pp. 321-325.
8. R. E. Turner, America in Civilization, pp. 101, 102.

applied to any particular phase of social life. The chief concern with social heritage in this connection is to indicate its influence in shaping the modes of life in a religious group.

No other field of human experience has been beset with such dogma, superstitions, prejudices, fears, and mysticism, as religion. The natural corollary to this fact is, that the church, which is the functioning social institution of religion, has assumed from its beginning, certain responsibilities for the control of human conduct. The church as an institution originated out of the effort to produce uniform and universal behavior patterns.

This effort to preserve and teach the "faith of our fathers" has been a vital factor in keeping our cultural heritage intact from one generation to another, and to ward off all attempts at cultural changes within the church. The surest way to make ideas into dogmas, and traits of behavior into social habits, has been to connect them with religion. The philosophy of life which interprets God as "the same yesterday, today, and forever," has prompted the faithful believer to instill into his children the ideals of his forefathers, and the same habits of life to express them. It is not strange, therefore, that the church has defied social change, and has sought thru the medium of social heritage, to insure the propagation of original patterns of life, in spite of the multiform transformations wrought in social life by forces not known as religious. By the same token with which the church has defied change, it has also generated and perpetuated moral, ethical, and spiritual values, which constitute the most vital elements in our civilization.

An individual born into the cultural environment of a given religious group has little chance to escape the moulding influence of that culture. His habits are pressed into the patterns approved by the group before he is old enough or mature enough to choose his own modes of life. When he does come to the point of directing his own behavior, he finds himself hedged in by customs and traditions which few dare to question and the majority seek to enforce. None but the most eccentric and intellectually daring individuals have risked the social hazards awaiting those who

would break away from the beaten paths of culture. The Catholic code of culture is an example which brings the point at issue into clear relief. Other denominations less ritualistic, find their social controls weakening as their fidelity to religious heritage is liberalized.

The social heritage in a religious group therefore, is an effective determinant of culture.

ENVIRONMENTAL ADAPTATION

Aside from the social environment there should be mentioned here, certain aspects of adjustment to the physical environment which make a difference in religious culture.

Any attempt to show a significant relationship between geographic environment and religious group culture may seem farfetched until that connection is traced thru the more plausible paths of normal mental functions in behavior. Psychologically, the normal development of ideas and habits is definitely conditioned by the *things* about us, and the conditions under which we experience them. Since religion constitutes a type of normal behavior, the mental processes involved are naturally conditioned by those factors in the physical environment to which we react and from which we gather experience. Such physical elements as climate, fertility of soil, plant life, animal life, rivers, lakes, mountains, rainfall, and the like, dare not be omitted from a complete account of the things which determine the culture of a people.[9] Physical environment furnishes the materials for culture, sets certain limitations, and opens certain possibilities.[10] One's attitude toward God in a land of plenty may not coincide with his attitude toward the Creator, should he suddenly find his lot cast in some barren and isolated spot where he and his kind must battle the pangs of starvation. Primitive notions about God or gods have originated in endless variety out of the practical problems encountered in getting food, and securing protection from the hazards and hardships of nature.

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9. Wissler, Man and Culture, pp. 314-317.
10. See Dixon, Building of Cultures, p. 284. Hertzler, Social Institutions, pp. 130, 131.

When we trace out the paths of religious concepts we readily encounter the more complex elements in religious experience involving physical phenomena. The struggle of groups of people to overcome hardships in the physical environment, or to annihilate isolation, may have a tremendous influence on the culture patterns developed by them, and the rate and quality of cultural change which they undergo. Niebuhr calls attention to the conditions experienced on the Western frontier in early America as potent forces in early cultural trends in this country. He says that

"Throughout a large part of the eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth century the advancement of the Western frontier brought forth a typical culture of its own, which not only profoundly affected the whole civilization of the United States but also came into frequent conflict with the established society of the mercantile East. It produced its own type of economic life and theory, its own kind of political practice, and doctrine, and created its own typical religious experience and expression. The result was the formation of peculiarly Western denominations. These followed partly in the tradition of European churches of the poor but were, nevertheless, truly indigenous outgrowths of American environment." [11]

Suffice it to say then, that adaptation to physical environment does count in the building of culture.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

Closely allied to environmental influence, is a wide range of factors affecting religious culture, which we may class under the general head of economic interests.

"Before any religion can strike root certain conditions must exist. Economic conditions are of the number. . . ."

"This disposition in a people (for some religion) will be influenced more and more by economic conditions the nearer we approach our own time, seeing that economic life anyhow in the modern history of Western Europe has dominated man to a greater and greater degree." [12]

"One of the most enlightening contributions made to church history by Sociology and Economics is the relation of the Connection between

11. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, pp. 136, 137.
12. Sombart, Quintessence of Capitalism, pp. 267, 268.

Capitalism and Calvinism as set forth by Cunningham, Weber, Tawney, and their followers.

"Despite the overstatements which have marked the rise of the theory connected with these names, it is not possible to disagree with the fundamental contention that a close relationship has existed in modern times between these two great social movements and that they have profoundly influenced each other." [13]

"Divisions of the church have been occasioned more frequently by direct and indirect operation of economic factors than by the influence of any other major interests of men." [14]

These quotations give a sample of the opinions of men in the fields of religion and economics as to the close relationship between these two phases of culture. It would seem impossible, therefore, to explain the cultural history of any religious group without drawing heavily from economic sources to account for certain trends. Often a careful analysis of causes in movements which we considered to be controlled solely by religious motives, reveals the actual propelling influence to be some economic interest. The casual survey of almost any American community gives evidences of close relationship between industrial classification and church group affiliation. Certain churches sponsor the causes of the élite and the professional classes, while others serve chiefly the working classes whose livelihood is sought in trades or the congestion of factory life, or humbler occupation. Lynd and Lynd, in their recent case study of the cultural life in "Middletown," sensed this significant differentiating influence in group culture.

"It is after all this division into working class and business class that constitutes the outstanding cleavage in Middletown. The mere fact of being born on one or the other side of the watershed roughly formed by these two groups, is the most significant single cultural factor tending to influence what one does all day long thruout one's life; when he marries; when he gets up in the morning; whether he belongs to the Holy Rollers or the Presbyterian Church." [15]

The search for wealth, prosperity, or financial independence,

13. Niebuhr, Social Source of Denominationalism, pp. 79, 80.
14. Ibid., p. 26.
15. Lynd and Lynd, Middletown, p. 23.

leads men into undeveloped regions to develop new cultures, or into experimental speculations and departures which challenge the old, and the religious creeds are usually expanded to provide for these interests. The lure of financial gain has often come into direct conflict with community welfare and has thus violated the most sacred laws of religion. Jesus was confronted with this problem at the very beginning of Christian culture, when a man of wealth came to him asking aid in reshaping his religious ethics to fit his business principles. Recognizing the difficulty of this adjustment Jesus advised the investment of his money in the relief of the poor, and the complete revision of his religious concepts. He then uttered the eternal truth that "it is hard for them who have riches to enter the kingdom of god."[16]

It is also true that religion has influenced the ways and means of economic affairs, just as it has been influenced by them. People have brought the "first fruits of their vineyards" and the "choicest of their flocks" and offered them at the altars of faith. Millions of dollars pour annually thru the channels of charity and missionary endeavor in the name of religion. From whatever angle we view it, the church rests heavily upon the economic foundations which in turn exercise no little influence in directing its cultural growth.

POLITICAL CONTROLS

There is likewise a "close reciprocal relation between *government* and its cultural environment."[17] Wherever there is group life there is some form of government set up to regulate the social life of the group; mark meets and bounds for individual behavior; and induce cultural solidarity. The last of these functions, however, often fails where political policies become severely autocratic or fall under the control of narrow culture groups, as in the case of capitalism, or militarism, or despotism. Such cases of political domination usually result in the breaking up of groups into culture castes, and often in cultural revolution and coloniza-

16. Mark 10:23.
17. Beard and Beard, The American Leviathan, pp. 4, 5.

tion.[18] The history of civilization is replete with the evidence of conflicts between the religious and political elements of culture alternately superseding each other in controlling social trends. In countries where church and state are closely allied in social control, any attempts of small groups to break away from the body politic religiously, have met with severe persecutions. Following the Protestant Reformation the religious atmosphere of all Europe was rife with persecutions and ravages upon Protestant culture, inflicted by political powers disguised by sanction of the state churches, namely, Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed.

Political influence has at times completely transformed religious group culture. It changed the Jews from an agricultural people with cultural unity and social solidarity into a scattered people of varied commercial interests.

"Under the social and political conditions of the American frontier, English Presbyterianism, which had been convinced of its fidelity to the New Testament model, was almost unconsciously transformed into New England Congregationalism which now defends its form of organization as following the original and rightful Christian order. Episcopalianism was defended and attacked at many points in history, ostensibly because of its alleged maintenance of or departure from New Testament forms of church administration, but in reality because of its relationship to monarchical and absolute political government. . . .

"Theological opinions have their roots in the relationship of religious life to the cultural and political conditions prevailing in any group of Christians."[19]

Under democratic forms of government where public sentiment, popular vote, and potent personality, are the final forces in controlling social affairs, religious groups seek to harmonize their doctrines and practices with current political policies; sometimes giving religious sanction,[20] often seeking modification, but never completely disregarding the functions of government.

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18. See Wissler, Man and Culture, p. 160. Gillin, The Dunkers, pp. 23-28.
19. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, pp. 15, 16.
20. Ray H. Abrams, in a doctor's thesis on The Churches of America in the World War, (yet unpublished) shows how some of the churches took up the war cry, became tools of political propaganda, and blessed war.

So it is that political influences become pertinent factors in the analysis of religious group culture.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

Education is a medium thru which people seek cultural progress. It is the organized means of propagating beliefs and practices and may become the active vehicle for the spread of culture, and its evolution. On the other hand it may become the procedure thru which a group confines its culture and guarantees its continuity and protection against cultural fusion from other groups.[21] Certainly an educational system is the most effective network a community can have to initiate its youth into the social habits and traditions. New emphasis on child training and the rapid development of public school systems, are working together to bring within the reach of youth, the liberating possibilities of cumulative culture.

When we come to observe the function of education as a determinant in religion, it must not be overlooked that education was first employed in an organized manner at the hand of religion. Various religious groups have developed educational practices peculiar to themselves, but with the common purpose of disseminating culture. At times religious bodies have sought to curb the liberalizing effect of "much learning," and laid their charges at the feet of teachers whose breadth of vision culturally, led them to expound ideas not provided for in original creeds. But despite the handicaps of conservatism, the churches sponsored early movements in Colonial America toward elementary, secondary, and higher education, and in turn have been tremendously influenced in their cultural advancement by these prodigies which they nurtured in their youth. It is inevitable, therefore, that the methods of utilizing the forces of education, characteristic of any religious group, and the attitude which it holds toward organized education in general, are fundamental to the cultural life of the group. Education furnishes the tools and materials for culture building and offers incentive for using them.

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21. Parochial schools and synagogues furnish good examples of this type of education.

In the pages that follow it will be seen that the course of history in the Church of the Brethren has turned at vital points on its educational policies.

PART II

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORIGINS

The Brethren have long been known as "a peculiar people." Their modes of life have set them off from other peoples as a distinctive group. Because of their religious beliefs their culture has not yielded readily to the changing culture patterns of the groups with which they mingle. Their manner of dress; their family life; their business ethics; and their social attitudes, have woven culture patterns which are strangely their own, and have brought upon these people both severest persecutions and highest commendations. For social imprudence they are not without blame, but without their contribution of religious democracy, of moral stability, and industrial thrift American culture would be poorer.

In Rupp's "History of All the Religious Denominations in the United States," published in 1844, the Brethren people are described as follows:

"They are industrious, sober, temperate, kind, charitable people; envying not the great, nor despising the mean. They read much, they sing and pray much; they are constant attendants upon the worship of God; their dwelling houses are all houses of prayer; they walk in the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless, both in public and private. They bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The law of kindness is in their mouths; no sourness or moroseness disgraces their religion; and whatsoever they believe their Savior commands they practice, without inquiring or regarding what others do."[1]

Whatever truth or exaggeration thereof might be expressed in the above quotation, it points out the fact that these people are a unique group in cultural history.

They have always been known among themselves as *The Brethren*. Because they opposed infant baptism as one of their first tenets of faith, they were sometimes called *Anabaptists*.

1. I. D. Rupp, History of All the Religious Denominations in the U. S. (1844), p. 94.

Because of their peculiar method of baptism by trine immersion they were called *Taufers,* derived from the German word "*taufen,*" meaning to baptize or to christen; or *Dompelaers,* meaning dippers; or Tunkers, derived from the German "tunken," meaning to dip. *Tunkers* was softened euphonically to *Dunkers,* the name that most commonly is applied to these early *Separatists.* But the name Dunkers became vulgarized in America by those who referred to these people disparagingly as *Dunkards,* and for many years this name lingered with these people long after it had lost its connotation of vulgarism. It is not unusual to hear them referred to as Dunkards even now, by those who are unfamiliar with their history. The official name which they chose for themselves early in their history was *German Baptist Brethren.* This name was changed officially in 1908 to the *Church of the Brethren,* since the word "German" had lost its significance and become misleading.[2]

Hence the name, *Church of the Brethren,* will be used by the writer as the official name of the church, and its members will be referred to as the *Brethren.*

As a foundation upon which to build a cultural interpretation of the Church of the Brethren, a brief historical sketch would seem essential. The history of the church has been written by several of her sons of faith, who have given us rather comprehensive records. Chief among these writers, the man who justly deserves the title as the "Historian of the Church of the Brethren," is Dr. Martin Grove Brumbaugh. He wrote, among other things, "A History of the Brethren," published in 1899, which has been the backbone of Brethren history since that time.[3]

2. See Full Report of the Annual Meeting of the Church of the Brethren, for the year 1908, pp. 75-96.
3. Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh spent much time and money in accumulating rare and original manuscripts and books containing valuable history of the church. Before his death, in 1930, he had amassed a priceless library of Brethren literature including a part of the collection of the noted antiquarian, Abraham H. Cassel, great-great-grandson of Alexander Mack, the founder of the church, and great-great-grandson of Peter Becker, the first elder of the church. Dr. Brumbaugh attributed to Cassel the honor of being the Historian of the Church, which he undoubtedly was in an earlier day. See Brumbaugh's History of the Brethren; Preface, pp. XI, XII.

Other special sources of Brethren history are:

H. R. Holsinger, History of the Tunkers, 1901.

Otho Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, 1919.

Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, Bicentennial Addresses, 1908.

G. N. Falkenstein, History of the German Baptist Church, 1901.

J. L. Gillin, The Dunkers, 1906.

BEGINNINGS IN GERMANY

The Church of the Brethren was born out of the religious chaos following the Reformation in Germany. Men like Abelard, Erasmus, and Martin Luther had sponsored the cause of human reason as the foundation of true religion, as against the ruthless regime of religious dogma. The Catholic Church had lost its lordly grip, and the Lutheran and Reformed Churches received also the recognition and protection of the state. The prince of each province could choose which of these three churches should be recognized as the church of his domain, and persecution was meted out with certainty to all who dared to profess any other faith than that of the official church of his province.[4] Any person who had the boldness to think for himself concerning his salvation, was treading upon dangerous ground. The state churches vied in their persecution of all dissenters and made life intolerable for those conscientious souls who studied their Bibles and tried to follow the ways of life which they believed it directed. Added to the religious terror were the invasions of Louis XIV of France in the attempt to usurp control of a portion of the fertile Rhine valley. Beidelman gives the following description of the incredible conditions in the German Palatinate whence the Brethren originated:[5]

"In the Autumn of 1688, there began a chapter in the history of the Palatinate which has no parallel in the history of the world, for savage brutality, and the atrocities perpetrated by French soldiers, with the approbation, and under the direction of the French monarch. The in-

4. Otho Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 15, 16. M. G. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 2, 3.
5. Wm. Beidelman, The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans, pp. 23-33.

vasion of the Palatinate was attended by such monstrous crimes, that a belief in them taxes the credulity of mankind, notwithstanding the barbarities of the Turks in these later days. No war was ever waged with such ferocity as characterized the French attempt to subjugate the Palatinate. . . . The whole country was pillaged and made desolate; towns and cities were laid in ashes, and more than one hundred thousand of the inhabitants murdered.

"There was no letting up of these outrages by the French until the year 1697 when peace came with the treaty of Ryswick. . . .

"From this time on, the Palatinate ceased to be the special object of vengeance of the French, but it continued to be the battlefield of other European Wars. . . .

"The Palatinate despaired of being ever freed from the horrors of war, or the tramp of marching armies. They began to look for homes elsewhere. Many of them were scattered to other parts of Germany; some met beyond and sought homes in Holland, and in other parts of Europe."

W. W. Sweet, in his "Story of Religions in America," further describes the European background of religious experiences of certain sects which arose in Germany during this turbulent period.[6]

"Southern Germany or the Palatinate was the region which suffered most. But so fertile was the soil and so great was the recuperative power of the people, because of their industry and agricultural skill, that soon after each invasion the country was transformed from a desert into a garden, only to attract other plunderers. . . . Added to the terrible conditions produced by the wars and invasions, were the religious persecutions. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which marked the end of the Thirty Years' War, provided for some degree of toleration. . . . But neither Catholic, Lutherans, nor Reformed respected the rights of the small sects, such as the Mennonites, Dunkers, and German Quakers. Thus religious persecution, the tyranny of petty rulers, destructive wars and general economic distress produced the background out of which came German immigration to American Colonies."

It will be seen that protection from persecution rested largely in the hands of the individual princes in the several provinces and their attitudes toward the state churches. Concerning the

6. W. W. Sweet, Story of Religions in America, pp. 32-34.

persecution, Prince Eugene is reported to have said of the princes of that period: "God forgive them for they know not what they do; much less do they know what they want; and least of all, what they are."[7]

There were a few God-fearing princes in Germany, however, who gave refuge to those who suffered because they dared to break away from the established churches; to think for themselves; and to interpret the Scriptures in their own way. Count Heinrich von Wittgenstein was of this type and refugees from persecution and intolerance sought protection in his province of Wittgenstein.

Among those who came for refuge was one Alexander Mack, born at Schriesheim. He was a man of wealth, owning mills and vineyards, and was of pious Presbyterian (Reformed) parentage.[8] Church dogma and ecclesiastic dominion became distinctly oppressive to the mind of Mack and he became a Separatist, for which cause he was persecuted, and fled to the little town of Schwarzenau.

Let it be remembered that most of those who separated from the state churches were learned men who had the intelligence to detect the shallowness and ceremonial sham of the established churches and to protest on matters of theology, and who likewise had moral stamina and spiritual faith to seek better things in religion.[9]

At Schwarzenau, Mack came in contact with a Pietist, Christopher Hochmann, who was educated in the University of Halle, and because of his religious teachings was likewise persecuted and fled to Schwarzenau. Mack and Hochmann became warm friends and held many points of faith in common. It was their belief that the ordinances of the church should be derived from the New Testament and that this Book alone should be the creed of the church. Hochmann, probably fearing a return to the evils of the old organization, shunned any effort toward an organized

7. Dubbs, The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, p. 34.
8. M. G. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 71.
9. See Brumbaugh, History of Brethren, p. 25. T. T. Myers, Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 37.

church to propagate piety and worship. But Mack saw no way to bring about the desired results in the lives of men save thru the medium of group life. He thus drew about him a little band of believers whom he taught from his fruitful study of Bible and theology.

Hochmann's zeal to teach the true Christianity as he saw it, as liberation from the organized churches, made his life henceforth a veritable series of persecutions and imprisonments. In 1702, he was thrown into prison at Detmold Castle by Count zur Lippe-Detmold, who refused his release until he had written out his confession of faith, which he did. This document of Hochmann's faith played a large part in unifying the faith of the little group which Alexander Mack was schooling at Schwarzenau. Next to the Bible it was the most important influence in the genesis of the church.[10]

Mack nurtured the little group at Schwarzenau, and it is probable that Hochmann too, gave them spiritual bread, altho there is no record that he ever actually became a member of the Church of the Brethren.

In the year 1708, a little group of eight persons who had studied and prayed together concerning the *right religion,* went down to the river Eder. One of them led Alexander Mack into the stream and baptized him by immersing him three times forward, in the name of the Father, and Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Then Mack baptized the other seven in like fashion. They then organized into a congregation, chose Mack as their leader, and the Church of the Brethren began.[11]

The chief but simple tenets of their faith were, (1) Uncondi-

10. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 22, 83-88.
Full translation of Hochmann's Confession will be found on pages 128-131 of this volume.

11. The names of these eight charter members are: Alexander Mack, Anna Margareta Mack, Joanna Notinger, Alexander Bony, George Grebe, Luke Vetter, John Kipping, Joanna Kipping.
Brumbaugh says, "They were all members of a Protestant church before 1708. Kipping was a Lutheran, Mack, Vetter, Bony and Grebe were bred Presbyterian (Reformed).—Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 33.
See also Chronicon Ephratense, pp. 1, 2.

tional acceptance of the Bible as their only creed. (2) Trine immersion in a flowing stream as their only form of baptism. (3) Absolute nonresistance of coercive force of their fellowmen.

These three tenets of faith may be said to constitute the beginning of Brethren Culture, for out of them grew the variegated culture patterns of the Brethren group of today.

The new church at Schwarzenau grew rapidly, and a second congregation was organized in the province of Marienborn. But persecution followed and after location at three different places in Marienborn, this congregation moved to Creyfelt for refuge.[12] A third congregation was organized at Epstein, and scattered evidence points to members in Switzerland and Holland.

Forced by the rulers of neighboring provinces to withdraw his protection of Protestants, Count Henry of Wittgenstein could no longer protect the Schwarzenau church, and persecution drove them to Westervain in West Friesland in Holland, where it flourished for nine years.[13]

TRANSPLANTED TO AMERICAN SOIL

Economic distress followed in the wake of devastating wars which drained the industries of men and money along the Rhine; made a generation of beggars; and paralyzed industry for years to come. Religious persecution uprooted homes, transformed substantial, educated, and peace-loving citizens into wanderers whose very lives were endangered. These experiences made "a war-weary and a war-hating people."[14]

As early as 1677, William Penn had been in Europe in the interests of the Quaker Colony in America. "From 1683 he and his agents were at work in the states along the Rhine, advertising the religious freedom of his colony."[15] Penn issued a pamphlet entitled, "Some Account of the Province of Penn-

12. See Julius F. Sasche, The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, II, p. 49.
13. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 45. Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 20-22.
14. Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 20.
15. J. L. Gillin, The Dunkers, p. 27.

sylvania in America," which he circulated among the people of the Rhine Valley. In speaking of this pamphlet, Sweet refers to his "essay on 'Religious Liberty' which was appended to his advertisements," indicating that his principal appeal was commercial. Other agencies were at work to induce people in this unhappy region to seek homes in the "land of promise" across the sea. The Frankfort Land Company[16] and other similar land companies bought up large tracts of land in the Pennsylvania Colony and solicited the sale of portions of it to these people along the Rhine in Germany. A. B. Faust, in an address before the Pennsylvania German Society, January 14, 1916, speaking of the early German settlers in the United States said:

"The great bulk were induced to emigrate for economic reasons. Most of them were skilled cultivators of the soil, whose ambition it was to own land and build upon it a home of their own."

Quoting from Sweet:

"The first Dunker immigration to America came from the same locality from which had come the first Mennonite settlers, Creyfelt on the lower Rhine, and in response to the same set of influences, namely the advertisement of Pennsylvania's agent and the Frankfort Land Company."[17]

It is reasonably safe to assume that like most promotion schemes, the pictures portraying prosperity and luxury by those interested in the development of the American Colonies, were overdrawn, and those who left Germany for America did not leave all their hardships behind.

In the year 1719, a group of twenty families—one hundred and twenty persons—under the leadership of Peter Becker, left the community of Brethren at Creyfelt for the voyage to America.[18] They landed at Philadelphia and went to German-

16. S. W. Pennypacker, The Settlement of Germantown. S. W. Pennypacker, Historical and Biographical Sketches. J. F. Sasche, Fatherland, p. 123.
17. W. W. Sweet, The Story of Religions in America, p. 151.
18. History of the Church of the Brethren in Eastern Pennsylvania, p. 14.

town, which was then about six miles from Philadelphia.[19] This marked the first migration of members of the Church of the Brethren to American soil.

This group of new immigrants scattered in and around Germantown, established their humble homes, and sought means of livelihood as best they could.[20]

BEGINNINGS IN AMERICA

There is apparently no record of any effort among these people toward organized observance of their religion, for about three years, when in 1722, Peter Becker, who led them in their migration to this country, made a personal tour among these Brethren settlers and tried to revive their zeal for collective worship. His visits bore fruit, for we have some evidence of meetings soon thereafter. Brumbaugh says, "From 1722 to 1732 the meetings were held in the homes of members—generally at Becker's, Gomorry's, Gantz's, Traut's, or Kolckglasser's."[21]

On Christmas Day, 1723, seventeen members gathered at the home of Peter Becker in Germantown for an all day meeting. Four of those present were women, and of the thirteen men present, seven were ministers.[22] In the forenoon their organization was set up by choosing Peter Becker as their elder. In the afternoon the little group wended its way down to the Wissahickon, where six applicants were led into this historic stream and baptized by trine immersion "as the first fruits of the Church in America." They then returned to Germantown to the home of John Gomorry, where they held their first love feast, or communion.[23] They gathered around a long table, and after a service

19. There was a previous settlement of Mennonites in Germantown, who were also from Creyfelt. This probably accounts for the destination of the first Brethren voyagers. See Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, chapter by G. N. Falkenstein, pp. 43, 47.
20. Falkenstein says only about one hundred and twelve settled in the immediate vicinity of Germantown. See Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 49.
21. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 165.
22. See Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 49.
23. The names of twenty-three members who were present at this first love feast as given by G. N. Falkenstein are as follows: Peter Becker, John Heinrich Traut, Jeremias Traut, Bolser Traut, Hein-

of song and scripture and prayer, the men began on one side of the table and the women on the other to wash one another's feet. Following this ordinance they ate the Lord's supper, passed the "holy kiss of charity" and "right hand of fellowship," partook of the "holy communion" of bread and wine, and closed their meeting with prayer and song. This was the beginning of the first organized congregation of the Church of the Brethren in America. From this mother church at Germantown the missionary spirit grew and many people of the vicinity of Germantown became interested in the new and peculiar customs of this group of people and a goodly number joined their ranks.

The missionary spirit grew in the mother church, and under the leadership of the faithful Eld. Becker a new congregation was organized at Coventry, September 7, 1724, and he did most of the preaching himself for five years, assisted by Martin Urner.[24] This Church later became the source from which missionary tours and emigration spread the Brethren culture into Maryland and Virginia and the West.

About a month later, November 12, 1724, Eld. Becker organized the third church at Conestoga in Lancaster County. Conrad Beissel was appointed as their minister and served the church there for four years.

Around the name of Conrad Beissel a great deal of tradition and history has accumulated. He broke faith with the Brethren because of some mystic beliefs which he held. He began to teach the observance of the seventh day as Sabbath, the practice of celibacy and certain Old Testament customs concerning food. His peculiar ideas were incompatible with the original spirit of religion taught by Alexander Mack at Schwarze-

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rich Holsappel, Johannes Gumre, Stephen Koch, Jacob Koch, Johannes Hildebrand, Daniel Ritter, George Bolser Gansz, Johannes Prisz, Johannes Kamfter, Magdalena Traut, Anna Gumre, Marie Hildebrand, Johanna Gansz.

Those just baptized were: Martin Urner, Martin Urner's wife, Henry Landis, Henry Landis' wife, Frederick Lanz, Jane Mayle.

See Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 48.

24. See Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, p. 29. Brumbaugh, History of the Bethren, p. 289.

nau, and Beissel found it desirable to withdraw from the church. Beissel was a man of magnetic personality and keen intellect, both of which added intensity to the seriousness of the situation for the early church, for he gained a considerable following. It is said that a council meeting was held to discuss the matter of following Beissel's doctrines, and Michael Frantz placed a rail on the floor and invited all those who wished to follow Beissel, to step on the left side of the rail, and all those who wished to remain with the church, to step to the right side with him. Thus a rather peaceful separation was enacted. He and his followers built up a queer little settlement on the banks of Cocalico Creek at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1732, and lived secluded lives in buildings fashioned somewhat as monasteries and nunneries, where the "brothers" and "sisters" lived in separate houses and "practiced" a sort of "monasticism."[25] There were also some "household" members who lived in their own homes and practiced strange household economies. The Ephrata community under the leadership of Beissel developed a unique organization and skill in certain lines of interest as, for example, printing and music in which they were said to be unusual.

Beissel's "strange doctrines" were a source of great disturbance in the young churches of the Brethren, and many of their most substantial members connected themselves with the Ephrata Society—some of them for only a short time and then returned to the mother church. Beissel ruled over this society of "Seventh Day Baptists"—as they were called—for thirty-six years, until his death in 1768. This queer religious experiment died with the brain that instigated it, for this society rapidly declined after the death of Conrad Beissel, the religious mystic, expert baker,

25. See W. W. Sweet, Story of Religions in America, p. 151. For fuller account of the Ephrata Community see, Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 10. J. F. Sasche, The German Sectarian of Pennsylvania, vol. 2. Chronicon Ephratense, A Biography of Beissel and History of the Ephrata Society. Gibbons, Pennsylvania Dutch, pp. 138-172. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, chapter II.

J. L. Gillin, The Dunkers, pp. 126-141. Gillin says there were 300 members in the Ephrata Community at one time, p. 138.

mathematician, author and composer of music, teacher of gothic and ornamental penmanship, instructor in the art of self production. . . . He composed not fewer than one thousand tunes. His printed hymns number four hundred and forty-one, and his printed discourses sixty-six.[26]

After the death of Beissel, many of the members of the Ephrata Society returned to the Brethren churches from which they came. Some left the cloister and journeyed to other parts of the country, and a few remained to witness the decline, for that early storm of peculiar mysticism had run its course. But it had a deciding influence among the German people of Colonial America. Branches of this society were formed during its prosperous days in York County on Bermuda Creek, in Bedford County and on Antietam Creek in Franklin County.

Many volumes have been written about Beissel and his strange community. Unfortunately this literature has created a great deal of confusion and left erroneous ideas in the minds of many people concerning the Church of the Brethren, because this ecstatic movement sprang from the Brethren Church and then when it dissolved, the majority of the group drifted back to the Brethren Church. Its history, however, is not the history of the Church of the Brethren, nor should it be confused with Brethren Culture, save as an example of religious fanaticism which so easily develops about a strong personality, among a people without religious creed, and in a new cultural environment.

In 1729, Alexander Mack, who set up the first organization of the Church of the Brethren in Schwarzenau, Germany, and in 1720 was driven with his group of churchmen to West Friesland, Holland,[27] came to America and brought most of the Brethren with him. The few who remained in Europe probably returned to the Reformed Church. At any rate the coming of Mack and his party,[28] marked the complete transplanting of the church to American soil.

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26. D. Rhine Hertz, Address before Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings of Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. 10, p. 14.
27. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 93.
28. The group consisted of about 30 families including Mack's wife and three sons. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 93.

They settled in and around Germantown, as did the first group of Brethren who came over with Peter Becker in 1719. This body of newcomers added considerable strength to the Germantown congregation both in leadership and numbers, and it became the center of great religious influence. Mack became the presiding elder at Germantown and his work attracted considerable attention. His three sons each joined the church at the age of seventeen years, as did also the son of Christopher Sower. This would seem to indicate that Mack believed a child should not be received into the church under sixteen years of age.[29] One of these sons, Alexander Mack, Jr., later became elder of the Germantown Church and a very able man. It was thru him that a great deal of the early history of the Brethren in America was preserved.

While yet in Germany, Alexander Mack, Sr., wrote two documents which are of special importance because they are the only written guides for the early church which bore the semblance of creed for the Brethren. These articles were "A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God," and "Answer to Gruber's Thirty-nine Questions," both of which were written to arrest the attempt of certain Separatists and others to join Mack's company of believers at Schwarzenau without observing the ordinances which he taught. These writings published in Schwarzenau in 1713 were intended to show "that each tribe must hold to its own standard."[30]

When Mack came to Germantown his heart was saddened at the news of the split in the church at Conestoga, due to the "strange teachings" of Conrad Beissel. He made two special trips to the vicinity of Lancaster and Ephrata in the interests of reconciliation of the groups which had separated. Beissel would not recant in his doings and confess his wrong as Mack tried to persuade him to do, altho he did try later to return to the church without confessing his error. But this was not acceptable to the Brethren, and the breach was not healed.[31]

29. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 95.
30. Chronicon Ephratense, p. 50.
31. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 99.

It will be seen that Mack's coming to America gave an added degree of solidarity to the Brethren group. The fact that the church was yet young and its policies yet in the making, made the group susceptible to the influence of leadership. Mack, being a man of strong personality, and also of firm opinions, gave strength to the order of things at Germantown, and the other churches looked to Germantown for guidance, since it was the mother church. Had Mack been in America in 1724 it is unlikely that Conrad Beissel would have divided the church at Conestoga.

Another striking figure in the early church was Christopher Sower, sometimes spelled Sauer and also Saur, who came to America in 1724 from Germany, where he was acquainted with the Brethren and had met Peter Becker, and also Conrad Beissel. He was not a member of the Brethren Church when he came, but the evidence is reasonably clear that he joined soon after he came to America.[32]

Christopher Sower was born at Laasphe, of Wittgenstein, Germany. He received sound education at Halle, and the University of Marburg. When he came to America he first went to Germantown, but later, in 1726, to Lancaster County, where he bought thirty acres of land. He was probably influenced by Conrad Beissel, with whom Sasche says he was very friendly while yet in Germany.[33] It was his desire to establish a home in a "fertile and prosperous section of the country."[32] But his experiences in Lancaster County were unhappy because his wife, influenced by Beissel to believe that "marriage tarnishes the soul," left her husband and son and joined the Ephrata Society. Sower with his son, then ten years old, moved back to Germantown in 1731, where he set up a shop as carpenter, cabinet maker, optician, and clockmaker. The sign over his shop door read, "Christopher Saur, Uhrmacher." He also dealt in medical remedies and religious books.[34]

Thru the influence of the son, Sower's wife came back to them

32. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 346-49.
33. Sasche, The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, Vol. 2, p. 313.
34. Sasche, German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, p. 315.

and the home was restored. Sower built a large house in 1732 at what is now Germantown Avenue, adjoining the old Wistar Mansion, and arranged the second floor with hinged partitions so that it could be used as a meetinghouse. Here the Brethren of Germantown held their services until 1760,[35] when their number became too great for these quarters. The house was remodeled and partitions removed. The Brethren worshiped there until 1770, when a stone meeting house was built at what is now 6611 Germantown Avenue. This building is still in use with additions which have been added to increase its capacity. It is the oldest church house of the Church of the Brethren and stands as a simple and unpretentious, though beautiful shrine to the founders of the sterling characteristics of the plain and simple life that had a marked influence in early American culture.

In 1738 Sower secured a printing press from Germany, and began his famous activities which became so important in the cultural life of the German people of America. There is some evidence that this press which Sower bought was the one used in Germany to print the old Berleberg Bible, and that Alexander Mack and others of the Brethren in Germany contributed toward the publication of this famous old Bible.[36]

It is probable that Sower was induced to start his printing industry while living at Mühlbach Valley near Lancaster, where he knew of some publications printed for the Ephrata Society by the Benjamin Franklin Press. But Franklin developed a distinct dislike for "the Dutch"—as he called all German people of his colony, and this fact did not favor the sympathetic service of his press for the Brethren. Besides these Dutch people used the German language and Franklin's publications were mostly in English. Sower evidently saw the need of facilities for German publications.

As soon as his press was installed Sower began publications of a religious nature. The first leaflet that was struck off on this famous press bore the title "Eine Ernstliche Ermahnung, An

35. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 165.
36. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 354.

Junge and Alte. Zu Einer Ungeheuchelten Prüfung Ihres Hertzens und Zustandes" (An earnest admonition to young and old, to a sincere testing of their hearts and conditions).[37] He immediately printed an A B C and spelling book "to be used by all religions without reasonable hesitation."[38] The following year (1739) he began "The High-German American Almanac" which was issued for forty-nine consecutive years by Sower, his son, and grandson. This was the first real German newspaper in this country published in German type. Benjamin Franklin had published a German paper in Roman type for a few years but without much success in its circulation. These Almanacs constituted the official household guide book for the German people of America. In that same year appeared the first number of "Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber." (The High German Pennsylvania Historian).[39] This newspaper was issued regularly until the Sower Printing House was destroyed during the Revolutionary War. In 1743 there came from the Sower Press a most remarkable product, a German Bible, the first Bible printed in America. Sower made most of the paper in his own paper mill and also made the ink which he used. The Sower Bible became the "Family Bible" for almost every German family in young America.[40]

Brumbaugh says that over 200 different works in English and German, most of them religious, came from the Sower Press at Germantown.[41] Christopher Sower took a very definite stand in his newspaper editorials and various publications on current social problems, as war, slavery, education, etc. He was thus able to exert a strong influence on the entire thought life of the German people in America, and helped to shape their culture, Brethren and all other German peoples, as Mennonites, German Quakers, Lutherans, and non-sectarian Germans. Their Bibles,

37. John S. Flory, Literary Activities of the Brethren, p. 54.
38. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 358.
39. The only known copy of this first number is in the M. G. Brumbaugh library at Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.
40. For full account of the Sower Bible, see Flory, Literary Activities, The Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century, Chapter III.
41. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 374.

song book, almanac, medicine book, religious magazine, and newspaper, for the most part, came from the Sower Press and reflected the ideas and ideals of that remarkable printer.[42] Let it be remembered too, that Sower was constantly in close touch with Elders Alexander Mack and Peter Becker. Hence the Sower Press reflected the religion of the humble church of the Brethren at Germantown.

The son of Christopher Sower, Christopher Sower, Jr., was a close associate with his father in his printing industry. In 1750 his father transferred to him the publication of all English books which they printed, and upon his father's death in 1758 he came into full possession of the printing establishment.[43]

Young Sower became an ordained elder in the Germantown Church at the same time as Alexander Mack, Jr. He was instrumental in advancing the cause of education, in the Germantown community and was a heavy donor to the Germantown Academy founded in 1759.[43] He published several works on education, including his magazine, "Christian Education." He studied under the famous old Mennonite schoolmaster, Christopher Dock, and succeeded in getting this pious old teacher to submit to him for publication, his unique plan of instruction, which constituted the first book on education printed in America.[44] It came from his press in 1770. Thus the name Sower in a Brethren community has a significant cultural connotation.

Much more history is attached to this early period which must be omitted from this sketch—volumes in fact. But enough has been given to show the cultural trends.

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42. The Society at Ephrata also developed a printing establishment and printed a great many works, but not for such general circulation as those from the Sower Press. Their press served chiefly their own Society.
43. See Otho Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 40, 41.
44. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 388, 389.

CHAPTER IV

GROWTH AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

During the first half century of its existence (1708-1770) the Church of the Brethren was transplanted from its place of birth in the Rhine Valley in Germany, to the Penn Colony in America, and grew until there were about 800 members divided among about twenty congregations throughout eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland. During the second half century (1770-1825) its borders were extended southward into Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and westward to the Mississippi Valley. The membership doubled in spite of the devastation of war, and Indian massacres on the frontier. During the third half century of its history (1825-1882) the western boundary was extended to the Pacific Coast and its members numbered about 58,000. Although there were some artisans and men of affairs in the Germantown church, the Brethren for the most part have always been an agricultural people. They have acquired land in the most fertile valleys of the United States and have prospered and developed strong settlements of their kind in these productive regions.

Early emigrants from the Eastern Pennsylvania Settlement of Brethren made their way into Middle and Western Pennsylvania and down through Maryland and Virginia. A strong settlement grew up in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia in Rockingham and Augusta Counties, and also in Botetourt and Roanoke Counties. From Virginia they spread into North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and westward into Ohio and Indiana, where another stronghold of the Brethren developed in these middle western States. Later the Brethren pioneers blazed their trail through Missouri, Iowa, and Kansas, and more recently on to

1. See Schuricht, H., History of the German Element in Virginia, p. 85. Gillin, The Dunkers, pp. 145-150. Zigler, D. H., History of the Brethren in Virginia, ch. 2. Holsinger, H. R., History of the Tunkers, p. 763.

the western coast. Several factors[1] combined to induce the Pennsylvania Brethren to migrate into other sections of the country:

1. Religious intolerance of the growing population in other sects toward the Germans of the Separatist type, such as the Brethren, induced their desire to seek seclusion in the undeveloped frontier country.

2. Rapid development of the Pennsylvania Colony increased land values and the sale of land was profitable in eastern Pennsylvania.

3. Fertile land could be bought cheaper in undeveloped sections of the country, than in eastern Pennsylvania.

4. Exaggerated reports concerning the opportunity of the frontier were circulated among the German farmers of Pennsylvania, inviting settlers.

5. Missionary zeal led Brethren to plant their religion and culture in new territories.

As the emigration from the early churches increased, the membership in the churches first organized suffered from the exodus of members. Particularly was this true of the country church in Eastern Pennsylvania. The membership in these churches showed very little growth and in a few instances actual decline over the period of rapid expansion during the first half century to 1770. The compactness and unity of the church was disturbed not a little by the rapid expansion and it marked the beginning of certain culture tendencies, as individualization and democratization in the functions of the church which have developed into characteristic culture traits since that day. During the same period, however, the total church membership increased rapidly.

The data in the table on the following page will give some impression of what happened.[2]

It will be noted that this list includes one church in New Jersey and two churches in Maryland, and that these dates cover the period up to about the time of the Revolutionary War.

2. These data were gathered from Morgan Edwards, Materials toward a History of the Baptists in America. Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, Ch. 2. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, Ch. 9. History of the Church of the Brethren in Eastern Pennsylvania.

Congregation	State	County	Date Organized	First Minister	Membership In 1770
Germantown	Pa.	Philadelphia	1723	Peter Becker	
Coventry	Pa.	Chester	1724	Martin Urner	40
Conestoga	Pa.	Lancaster	1724	Conrad Beissel	86
Oley	Pa.	Berks	1732	Peter Becker *	20
Great Swamp	Pa.	Berks	1733	Abraham Buboy	28
Amwell	N. J.		1733	John Naas (1790)	46
White Oak	Pa.	Lancaster	1736	Michael Frantz	65
Little Conewago	Pa.	York	1738	Daniel Leatherman	52
Conewago	Pa.	York	1741	Geo. Adam Martin	77
Northkill	Pa.	Berks	1748	George Kline	11
Antietam	Pa.	Franklin	1752	William Stover	
Great Swatara	Pa.	Dauphin	1756	George Miller	39
Little Swatara	Pa.	Berks	1757	Peter Heckman	45
Codorus	Pa.	York	1758	Henry Neff	35
Bermudian	Pa.	York	1758	Peter Miller	58
Pipe Creek	Md.	Carroll	1758	John Urner	
Middletown Valley	Md.	Frederick	1760	Daniel Leatherman	
Stony Creek	Pa.	Bedford	1762	Geo. Adam Martin	

* It will be noted that Peter Becker was elder in charge at Oley and did the preaching for several years, there being no resident minister for a number of years.

The Revolutionary War brought on new hardships for the Brethren because of their principle of nonresistance and their refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania. They thus incurred the hatred of the English settlers and this had considerable influence on the moulding of Brethren attitudes toward peoples of other faith. It was during the Revolutionary War that Sower's Printing Press was completely destroyed and his personal property confiscated by the colonial soldiers because of the opposition which he expressed toward war, through his various publications, and his publicly avowed denunciation of war, his refusal to take the oaths of allegiance, and to abjure the king of England, as required by the government of Pennsylvania.[3] Such instances of religious intolerance in Pennsylvania must certainly have influenced many Brethren to seek refuge from the social handicaps of further religious intolerance, by moving to other parts where protection and freedom were more promising among other people of German origin on

3. Dr. Brumbaugh quotes at length from a manuscript written by Sower, relating in detail the infamous persecutions and injustices to which he was subjected. See Brumbaugh's History of the Brethren, pp. 415-419.

the frontier, as for example, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.[4] At any rate the period following the Revolutionary War was a period of wide geographic distribution of the Brethren people. The history of this period of expansion is fragmentary, and dates, names, and places connected with the movements of the Brethren during the next fifty years have not been collected into consecutive history. But the following fragmentary evidence gives the trend of expansion:

"In 1780, a number of families from various places settled along the Antietam, a river flowing through Franklin County in Middle Pennsylvania.[5]

"By 1790, the greater part of the fertile valley of Morrison's Cove in Middle Pennsylvania had been purchased by Brethren. 'Some of them purchased large tracts, as much as 1,500 acres. They were the pioneer settlers and did the first preaching.'"[6] (Brethren settled in the Cove as early as 1755.)

"Morgan Edwards states that in 1790 there were seven churches in Maryland and ten in the more Southern States."[7]

"Quite a colony of Brethren located at New Amsterdam, now Daleville, Botetourt County, in 1780. These came from Pennsylvania and were driven thither by the same oppression in that State."[8] (The oppression referred to was sufferings incurred because of religious principles concerning war.)

"About 1775 or 1776 John Garber moved from York County, Pennsylvania, to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, near Harrisonburg. His two sons with their families and four other families joined him there in 1783. In 1785 seven more families came, and by 1787 seven more families came, and by 1787 thirty-two had moved from Pennsylvania and Maryland into the Shenandoah Valley."[9]

"By 1794 the Brethren of Northern Virginia were numerous enough that the Annual Meeting was held in the Shenandoah Valley."[10]

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4. See Schuricht, History of the German Element in Virginia, pp. 84-103.
5. Holsinger, History of the Tunkers, p. 160.
6. History of the Church of the Brethren in Middle District of Pennsylvania, p. 19.
7. Gillin, The Dunkers, p. 145.
8. Zigler, History of the Brethren in Virginia, p. 40.
9. Ibid., p. 41.
10. Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, p. 67.

"The first Brethren found in Missouri were Peter Baker, John Miller, and Joseph Niswinger, who came from North Carolina, and Daniel Clingingssmith, from Pennsylvania, all of whom moved there in 1795." [11]

"As early as 1799 the Shanks and Simmons families of Greenbrier County, Virginia, settled in what is now Hawkins County, Tennessee. . . . Michael Kraus, from Shenandoah County, emigrated to Washington County, Tennessee, as early as 1799. He located on Knob Creek in 1801. . . .

"The Bowman families came from Franklin County, Virginia, in 1801. Some of them settled on Knob Creek, and others, later on Boone's Creek. One member of this family had settled here some years before." [12]

"Kentucky held out great inducements, so that there was a great influx of Brethren." [13]

"In 1793 John Countryman, a Brethren preacher, settled in Adams County, Ohio. David Stouder organized a church at Stone Lick, Ohio, in 1795."

"The first minister in Miami Valley, Ohio, was Elder Jacob Miller, who came from Franklin County, Virginia, in 1800." [14]

"The first congregation in Indiana was organized in 1809 at Four Mile, in Wayne and Union Counties by Jacob Miller and John Hart." [15]

"In 1809 Elder George Wolfe, Sr., of Kentucky, held a meeting at Kaskaskia, Illinois." A congregation was organized there in 1812. [16]

"From 1790 to 1825 the Ohio Valley was very rapidly populated, and the number of Brethren so increased, both by immigration and by conversion, that in 1822 the Annual Meeting was held west of the mountains. Up until this time it moved from Pennsylvania to Virginia and back again." [17]

Thus the expansion continued, from fewer than 800 souls in 1770 to about 1,500 in 1800,[18] and there were Brethren in at least ten States, namely, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland,

11. Holsinger, History of the Tunkers, p. 765.
12. Ibid., p. 199.
13. Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, p. 73.
14. Ibid., p. 74.
15. Ibid., p. 77.
16. Ibid., pp. 79, 80.
17. Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 74, 75.
18. Ibid., p. 82.

Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri and very probably Indiana. By 1882, the membership had increased to about 58,000, and had followed the frontier development to the western coast, where some strong settlements of Brethren are now located. At the present time (1931) after two full centuries of the Church of the Brethren have been recorded, there are 1,044 organized congregations, with a total membership of 143,642. Six of these churches are in Western Canada where 380 members are located. Through foreign missionary enterprise, fifteen churches have been organized in India with a total membership of 3,944; four churches in China, with 1,255 members; two churches in Africa with 38 members; 171 members in Sweden; and 61 in Denmark.[19]

The statistical analysis of the church, however, which is given on the pages following, is limited to the churches of the United States and Canada, since these constitute the main body of the Church of the Brethren, distinguished from the extension in foreign countries, as the "Home Church." The official membership of the church, therefore, is 138,173 in the United States and Canada. The church Brotherhood[20] includes 1,029 organized congregations, although there are 1,468 different preaching points.[21]

There are 429 organized churches in the Eastern States with a total membership of 73,686. In other words, 41.7 per cent of the churches of the Brotherhood and 53.3 per cent of the members are located east of the Ohio River. In the Central States there are 512 churches with 55,129 members. This means that 49.7 per cent of the churches and 39.9 per cent of the members of the Church of the Brethren are in the States between the Ohio

19. These figures are taken from the Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren for the year 1931, pp. 12, 13, 48, 49.
20. The term "brotherhood" is used by the Brethren to designate the entire membership of the church.
21. The term "congregation" as here used, is synonymous with organized church, altho there may be several church houses or preaching places in a small congregation. This explains why the number of congregations and the number of preaching places do not coincide. Usually, however, there is only one church house for a given congregation.

River and the Rocky Mountains. In the far Western States and Canada there are 88 churches and 9,358 members, which is to say that 8.6 per cent of the congregations and 6.8 per cent of the membership of the church are west of the Rocky Mountains.

The Church of the Brethren is distributed over 35 States of the Union and two provinces of Canada, as shown by the following table.[22]

TABLE I

State	No. of Congregations	Percentage of Total*	Membership	Percentage of Total*
Alabama	3	...	156	...
Arizona	2	...	221	...
Arkansas	2	...	30	...
California	34	3.3	4,876	3.5
Canada	6	...	380	...
Colorado	14	1.3	1,320	...
Delaware	1	...	115	...
Florida	10	...	498	...
Idaho	13	1.2	1,151	...
Illinois	46	4.5	5,795	4.2
Indiana	116	11.3	14,269	13.5
Iowa	41	4.0	3,823	2.8
Kansas	55	5.3	5,364	3.9
Kentucky	1	...	55	...
Louisiana	2	...	155	...
Maryland	43	4.1	8,485	6.1
Michigan	30	2.9	2,096	1.5
Minnesota	9	...	840	...
Missouri	33	3.2	2,376	1.7
Nebraska	16	1.6	1,375	...
New Jersey	1	...	59	...
New Mexico	1	...	125	...
New York	1	...	121	...
North Carolina	22	2.1	1,232	...
North Dakota	19	1.7	765	...
Ohio	109	10.6	15,557	11.3
Oklahoma	15	1.5	808	...
Oregon	8	...	520	...
Pennsylvania	173	16.8	35,875	26.0
South Dakota	1	...	44	...
Tennessee	26	2.5	1,858	1.3
Texas	6	...	368	...
Virginia	119	11.5	21,976	15.9
Washington	16	1.6	1,597	1.2
West Virginia	29	2.8	3,256	2.4
Wisconsin	6	...	632	...
Total	1,029		138,173	

* Percentage not given when less than 1%.

22. The figures in this table are compiled from the Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren for 1931.

While the membership of the church is scattered over a wide area, it is evident from Table I, that a very large per cent of the membership is concentrated in a very few States. Pennsylvania alone has more than a fourth of all the Brethren in the United States. By adding the Brethren population of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Indiana, and Ohio, we can account for 66.7 per cent of the entire church membership.

The larger centers of Brethren population can be localized still further by determining the distribution in the different counties within the States. The following table gives the distribution by counties for the four States having the largest per cent of Brethren.[23]

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF BRETHREN BY COUNTIES IN PENNSYLVANIA, VIRGINIA, INDIANA, AND OHIO

PENNSYLVANIA

Counties of Pa.	No. of Brethren	Counties of Pa.	No. of Brethren
Adams	437	Indiana	438
Allegheny	191	Juniata	291
Armstrong	410	Lancaster	4,031
Bedford	2,342	Lebanon	1,603
Berks	397	Mifflin	1,052
Blair	4,027	Montgomery	1,403
Bucks	140	Northumberland	34
Cambria	2,468	Perry	90
Chester	416	Philadelphia	1,276
Clearfield	151	Schuylkill	155
Clinton	34	Somerset	3,974
Cumberland	483	Union	73
Dauphin	864	Washington	40
Fayette	1,268	Westmoreland	997
Franklin	1,869	York	1,643
Huntingdon	1,074		
		TOTAL	33,671

VIRGINIA

Counties of Va.	No. of Brethren	Counties of Va.	No. of Brethren
Albemarle	140	Carroll	153
Alleghany	141	Cumberland	67
Amherst	139	Fairfax	211
Augusta	2,906	Fauquier	78
Bath	44	Floyd	1,168
Bedford	202	Franklin	1,199

23. The data in this table were compiled from the census of Religious Bodies for 1926. In that year the total membership of the Church of the Brethren was 128,392, by that census.

Counties of Va.	No. of Brethren	Counties of Va.	No. of Brethren
Botetourt	1,145	Frederick	110
Campbell	28	Grayson	24
Greene	448	Prince George	37
Halifax	8	Prince William	437
Henrico	35	Pulaski	39
Henry	82	Rappahannock	55
Highland	148	Roanoke	1,724
Lee	42	Rockbridge	208
Louisa	55	Rockingham	3,622
Madison	30	Shenandoah	620
Montgomery	241	Smyth	37
Nelson	112	Spotsylvania	63
Orange	14	Stafford	36
Page	500	Warren	52
Patrick	75	Washington	99
Pittsylvania	301		
		TOTAL	16,875

INDIANA

Counties of Ind.	No. of Brethren	Counties of Ind.	No. of Brethren
Adams	150	Huntington	1,028
Allen	173	Jackson	75
Blackford	80	Joy	133
Boone	17	Kosciusko	913
Carroll	832	Lagrange	214
Cass	285	La Porte	103
Clay	64	Madison	289
Clinton	250	Marion	150
De Kalb	208	Marshall	704
Delaware	376	Martin	39
Elkhart	2,989	Miami	570
Fayette	14	Montgomery	251
Fulton	55	Pulaski	70
Grant	128	Randolph	228
Hamilton	186	St. Joseph	863
Henry	214	Tippecanoe	79
Howard	327	Tipton	70
		TOTAL	14,678

OHIO

Counties of Ohio	No. of Brethren	Counties of Ohio	No. of Brethren
Adams	96	Hancock	223
Allen	607	Henry	41
Ashland	623	Highland	61
Butler	105	Holmes	186
Clark	648	Knox	245
Clermont	72	Logan	208
Columbiana	144	Lucas	89
Cuyahoga	65	Mahoning	236
Darke	1,567	Marion	87
Defiance	197	Medina	136

Counties of Ohio	No. of Brethren	Counties of Ohio	No. of Brethren
Fulton	50	Mercer	50
Greene	146	Miami	2,042
Hamilton	54	Montgomery	2,392
Muskingum	101	Shelby	230
Perry	219	Stark	909
Pickaway	60	Summit	475
Portage	34	Trumbull	13
Preble	587	Tuscarawas	163
Putnam	94	Wayne	397
Richland	75	Williams	242
Ross	20	Wood	102
Seneca	231	Wyandot	20
		TOTAL	14,342

As indicated in Table II., of the thirty-one Counties of Pennsylvania in which members of the Church of the Brethren live, thirteen of them have a Brethren population of over 1,000, while Lancaster and Blair Counties have over 4,000 each. Exactly 50 per cent of the Brethren in Pennsylvania are located in five counties—Lancaster, Blair, Somerset, Cambria, and Bedford. Lancaster County is somewhat detached from the others, but it is interesting to note that there are more Brethren people in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, than in any other county in the United States, and this county has the reputation of being the richest county agriculturally, in the United States. The other group of four counties mentioned above constitutes a block of adjoining counties and includes the famous Morrison's Cove section which is also an unusually fertile valley. These rich agricultural regions are the Brethren strongholds in Pennsylvania.

Turning to Virginia we have a similar situation. Rockingham and Augusta Counties alone contain 38.7 per cent of the Brethren in Virginia, and these two counties are in the very heart of the Shenandoah Valley, and compare favorably with Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in fertility of soil. Roanoke, Botetourt, Franklin, and Floyd Counties represent another strong agricultural region, and these counties have 31 per cent of the Brethren membership of Virginia.

The same story is repeated in Darke, Miami, and Montgomery Counties, Ohio, in the Miami Valley, where 41.8 per cent of the

Brethren people of Ohio reside, and again in Indiana where 44.2 per cent of the Brethren of that State live in the northern lake and plain region in Elkhart, Kosciusko, St. Joseph, Marshall, and Huntington Counties.

It seems evident, therefore, that the Brethren people have gradually migrated to certain fertile and productive agricultural sections of the country.

Further evidence in this direction is added when one observes their distribution between rural and urban communities. According to a statistical report issued in 1930 by the General Ministerial Board of the Church of the Brethren, there are 1,354 churches in the Brotherhood.[24] Only 212 of them are located in cities. There are 281 churches in small towns, most of which are serving a rural community constituency. The remaining 861 churches are located in the open country. In reality, 1,142 out of the total of 1,354 churches or 84 per cent of them are serving members of the church located in rural communities. The Brethren, therefore, are largely a rural people, and their culture has been modeled in keeping with rural life.

24. Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren, 1931, p. 48.

CHAPTER V

CULTURE CONFLICTS

In tracing the history of culture conflicts relating to any group, internal and external conflicts should be differentiated.

The first external conflict which the Brethren experienced as a group began soon after the group was organized, when the church and state authorities in Germany raised objection to the Brethren's form of baptism and sought to forbid them to baptize in the open streams on the ground that it was a form of protest against the established churches. The Brethren insisted upon baptism in running streams by trine immersion as the only true baptism, and hence the conflict. It continued as long as the Brethren remained in the environments of the state churches of Germany, or until the last remnant of their kind had migrated to America in 1729.

The next real conflict from without came with the Revolutionary War which furnished a sort of chronological focus for a number of attacks upon the German sects in America of the Separatist type and whose beliefs and practices were opposed to war, taking the oath, or holding public office. Waging war successfully necessitates a high degree of social solidarity. But the German sectarians of Colonial Pennsylvania came to America upon the promise of individual freedom, and became individualistic and social nonparticipants in many civic affairs, including government. The Brethren and Mennonites and Quakers were particularly typical in this respect. Furthermore, the horrible memories of the dread days of war persecutions in Germany must have caused them to shudder at the very thoughts of war. Their refusal to engage in war brought severe censure of the Brethren by the English colonists, so that the cultural breach between English and German became deep and permanent. The Brethren reaction to this situation was closer segregation, withdrawal from centers of mixed cultures, and frontier colonization,

as has already been shown. Oppression from without produced greater group solidarity, and intensive cultural activity within the Brethren group, which enabled it to expand rapidly; so rapidly in fact that within twelve or fifteen years after the Revolutionary War her membership almost doubled.

The consistency of the Brethren people in their attitude toward war has brought repetition of oppression whenever war has brought about the general enlistment of civilian Americans for military purposes. Their refusal to engage in warfare brought great distress to many Brethren homes during the Civil War and again during the World War, despite the lenient attitude of the federal government toward those who were conscientious objectors to military service.

Other external conflicts will become apparent when the Brethren culture patterns are described more fully in a later chapter.

Certain internal conflicts among the Brethren must be noted here as a part of their cultural history.

THE HAECKER CASE

The first evidence of internal disturbance of culture occurred among the Brethren in Creyfelt, Germany, when a young man named Häcker married outside the Brethren group. Immediately there was consternation in the Brethren camp. Christian Libe, a strong and eloquent minister of the Creyfelt congregation, succeeded in having Häcker expelled from the church. John Naas, who was also a strong minister there, led the opposition to this action expelling Häcker. This affair so split the Creyfelt church that some of its members moved to other parts, and peace was not restored again while the Brethren remained in Creyfelt. Some writers have given this as a cause of the migration to America.[1] It may have been a contributing factor. Quarrels seem to have arisen among those in the first group of migrants who came with Peter Becker, over this same affair and the wound was not healed until sometime after the settlement in America.

1. See J. F. Sasche, German Sectarians in Pennsylvania, Vol. II, p. 50.

THE EPHRATA SOCIETY

In 1724, when Conrad Beissel was placed in charge of the Conestoga church in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, factions began to arise in that church on matters of belief and modes of expressing them. Beissel and his followers chose to observe the seventh day as Sabbath; to be known by Bible names; to live solitary lives; and some observed celibate lives. These were not Brethren doctrines. In fact such traits of culture could easily be attributed in origin to certain forms of dogma and church polity against which the Brethren Church itself was in protest. The Brethren at Germantown as well as some at Conestoga took Beissel to task, and he and his followers withdrew to develop their own peculiar culture in isolation at Ephrata where it flourished for a while, but soon spent itself in wasteful effort to remain separated from the world. Also the gradual encroachment of the growing population in the fertile region around Ephrata destroyed the solitary environment which was a social prerequisite to the existence of such a society.[2] Its decline therefore was inevitable. Most of the members drifted back to the churches from which they came and the remainder probably joined the English Seventh Day Baptists. Some of the buildings of the Ephrata settlement still remain. Their dilapidation bears silent testimony to the dangers of religion fanaticism and cultural isolation.

Another cultural schism occurred on the frontier of Kentucky about 1825. Far removed from the mother congregation and out of touch with the centers of Brethren culture, some of these "Far-Western Brethren" as they came to be called, began to vary the mode of observing certain ordinances, somewhat to their liking and without much regard for the original forms, and probably influenced by people of other faiths, especially in dress. Let it be remembered that Brethren culture, as a whole, was yet young and there was very little precedent established by social heritage, even in the older and well established churches. Then, too, certain decisions had been passed at Annual Meetings with

2. See Holsinger, History of the Tunkers, pp. 135-147.

which these isolated churches were unfamiliar. New settlers from the older churches later moved to Kentucky, and were astonished at the innovation in the church practices there. Report was made to Annual Meeting. "The mode of feet washing, slavery, and dress were some of the questions involved."[3] Reconciliation proved difficult and several hundreds were lost from the group of members. This experience so weakened the churches in Kentucky that the Brethren have never been able to make much progress in that territory since that day.

OIMANITES

A similar affair occurred in the Bachelor Run congregation, in Carroll County, Indiana, at about the same time.

Peter Eyman, a minister in that church, became dissatisfied with the Brethren way of doing things and advocated some changes in the ordinances of baptism, and Lord's supper, and also opposed the nonconformity practice of the church. He, with another young minister named Patton, stirred up much trouble with these heresies. A special conference of the Church was called and effort made to convince these men of their error and get their acknowledgment and forgive them. Little success attended this effort toward restoration. The offenders organized a new order in 1848, which became known as the Oimanites, or New Dunkers.[4] They claimed that Bible things should be called by Bible names and that the Bible name of church should be "Church of God." They thus named their order the "Church of God."[5] This order had slow growth but has survived to the present, with a membership of 650 according to the census of churches for 1926.[6]

BOWMAN BRETHREN

In 1858, the Brethren in Tennessee were disturbed because Eld.

3. Otho Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, p. 95.
4. See Otho Winger, History of the Brethren in Indiana, pp. 96-99.
5. See Yearbook of Churches for 1921-22; p. 45. Edited by E. O. Watson.
6. Census of Religious Bodies, 1926, p. 82.

John A. Bowman, who had been appointed administrator of an estate, was forced to enter suit to collect a debt. It was against Brethren principles to "go to law" against a brother, so Eld. Bowman was excommunicated by the local church. He was an unusually capable man, and he continued to preach and many followed him. In 1866, Annual Meeting sent a committee to Tennessee. This committee exonerated Eld. Bowman and restored his followers again to full fellowship in the church and place.[7] Elder Bowman was killed by a Confederate soldier in 1868.

LEEDY BRETHREN

Another violation of Brethren culture occurred in the Owl Creek church, in Ohio, where liberal leaders advocated the single mode of feet washing. The leaders were excommunicated.[8] Later others were expelled and Annual Meeting upheld the action of the local church in doing so. The Leedys, who were leaders in this movement, organized a church of their own, which, after little progress, united with the Progressive Brethren when they separated from the main body of the Brethren Church in the year 1882.[9]

Conservatism and Progressivism have vied for supremacy in most church bodies, and the conflicts waged between these two unruly children of religious culture have torn the cords of faith for many church bodies on lesser grounds than religion "pure and undefiled." Some very unhappy history records the instances which split the Brethren Church into three separate bodies, known as the Old Order group, the Conservative group, and the Progressive group, and now known officially as the Old German Brethren Church, the Church of the Brethren, and the Brethren Church, respectively.

This division was, of course, the outgrowth of years of con-

7. Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 99, 100.
8. By the single mode brothers wash the feet of only one other brother. By the double mode one may wash the feet of two or more. Annual Conference had sanctioned the double mode and had not approved the single mode. See Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1898, p. 96.
9. Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren. p. 100.

flicting cultures within the church; the Conservative group, consisting mostly of older members, clinging firmly to the customs, traditions, and culture forms of the Brethren Church of the earliest days, spent much effort in trying to preserve the church "as it was in the beginning." The Progressive group, including a large number of the younger members, for the most part living in communities where they were in close contact with peoples of different religious culture and general liberalizing influences, were inclined to introduce changes in their modes of living as well as in their church practices, which were departures from the beaten path of culture. Between these two extremes the great majority of Brethren, whether inclined to be conservative or progressive, tried to adjust their modes of life to a "middle of the road" course. To this group, cultural changes were neither inevitable nor impossible. But it should be noted that it is through this "middle of the road" group that cultural stability is preserved or restored.

In reality, then, there were only two culture groups; the Conservatives and the Progressives. The latter advocated cultural changes, while the former opposed any changes in Brethren culture. There were, however, many degrees of conservatism or progressivism, distributed all along the scale between radical extremes.

THE OLD ORDER BRETHREN

Because of certain changes in modes of church procedure, the Stillwater Church of Ohio, sent up a petition with their grievances, to the Annual Meeting of 1869. Following is a copy of that petition:

"We, the undersigned, elders, teachers, and visiting brethren from various districts of the church in the state of Ohio, being assembled in the fear of the Lord and prayer, upon the 13th day of November, 1868, for consultation upon matters with regard to the present condition of the church, do unanimously and most earnestly petition for our next annual conference, to be held in the state of Virginia, in the spring of 1869, to change, at least in the following particulars, its present manner of our first brethren.

"1. From the elders present at the place of annual meeting let there

be six or eight of the old, experienced, and established brethren selected, and these need not be selected, like our representatives in Congress, a certain number from each state, as each state, from its peculiar circumstances, condition, etc., has its peculiar laws adapted to its own wants; but not so with regard to the church. Her rules and understandings must be the same throughout all the states, and hence let those brethren be selected from either or all of the states, as prudence and the Holy Spirit may suggest; and let not their names appear on the minutes as 'Standing Committee.' After having withdrawn, let those brethren receive the queries, etc., from the different districts represented, and let them present the same in order before the meeting, for consideration. A minute of the proceedings of the meeting to be kept by some brother present. Let those old selected brethren see that there be order, if necessity require; but let no brother be selected as (human) moderator; rather, submit that office to the dictations of the Holy Spirit. Let all the business, we entreat, be transacted in great simplicity, and thus do away with those worldly-wise regulations, such as selecting a certain portion of the standing committee from each state, appointing a moderator, etc., and to have their names affixed upon the minutes.

"These points we look upon as tending to elevation, through which also the business and power is gradually concentrating too much into the hands of a few. Let us all be members one of another, and, above all, we say, Close the door against that which has a tendency to elevate and exalt the mind, lest Paul would say of us, 'But I fear lest as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.' 2 Cor. 11:3.

"We think it advisable that the minutes of conference be again read to all at the close of the meeting; then let them be witnessed by several of the old elders, but avoid especially designating those who had been selected to receive the reports of the churches.

"2. We petition conference to desist from sending committees to various churches where difficulties exist. We advise that all churches who need assistance call upon the elders, etc., in adjoining districts to come to their help, for it is probable that in most cases these have a better knowledge of the case than those brethren sent to them from a distance. And let all cases where any of the ordinances or doctrinal points be involved, be reported to conference, and let conference, after having considered the case, write accordingly to the church where the difficulty exists. Let two brethren be chosen to carry and deliver the epistle to

said church. This will be according to the practice of the apostle's days, for proof of which see the fifteenth chapter of Acts.

"3. We further petition this meeting to counsel and advise Brethren Quinter and Kurtz and H. R. Holsinger to publish nothing in their periodicals that disputes the practice of the precepts and ordinances of the gospel, as handed down to us by Christ and the apostles, through and by the forefathers of the church. And let Brothers Nead, Kinsey, and all the brethren who write, be cautioned upon this head.

"In conclusion, we say that if this Conference Meeting shall hear and grant this petition, well; but in case it shall refuse to do so, it is very probable that many churches will not be represented at our next annual conference, and hence the result will be reorganization of our conference meetings by said churches in accordance with this petition." [10]

The answer of Annual Meeting to this petition is so full of evidence as to the cultural trends of the church and the methods of handling controversy that the full statement taken from the minutes of the Annual Meeting for that year is given here:

"Article 1. Whereas, there have been certain petitions from southern Ohio presented to this Annual Meeting, and which have been extensively circulated through the brotherhood, wherein the petitioners have set forth certain grievances, and desire some change or modification in holding the Annual Meeting, and, also, in certain practices among the brethren; and, whereas, this Annual Meeting desires to maintain all the practices and ordinances of Christianity in their simplicity and purity, and to promote the 'unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace'; therefore, though it can not grant the changes and objects desired by the petitioners to the full extent petitioned for, it will make the following changes in the manner of holding the Annual Meeting, and endeavor to guard, with increased vigilance, against the abuse of the practices referred to in the supplement, by advising and urging the brethren to observe the cautions and directions in reference to said practices, as hereinafter stated:

"1. In relation to the appointing of the standing committee, we advise that the district meetings select old, experienced, and established brethren; and that in signing the minutes we advise that a suitable number of elders sign them, but not as members of the standing committee,

10. This report is taken from Holsinger's History of the Tunkers, pp. 418-420.

and the signers need not be confined to the committee. We also advise that the minutes be read to all at the close of the meeting, provided there is time, and it be found practicable to do so, and that the term 'moderator,' as applied to the brother who keeps order, be dropped.

"2. In relation to holding protracted meetings for worship, we feel much impressed with the propriety of conducting said meetings in strict accordance with the gospel; that all disorder and improper excitement should be avoided; that care should be taken that the understanding be enlightened, as well as the passions awakened; that on all occasions, when candidates for church membership are visited and examined, they be dealt with as the gospel seems to require, and as the order of the brethren has sanctioned; that in noticing the success of preaching, we advise that the number of additions to the churches be omitted.

"3. In relation to Sabbath-schools, we feel the great necessity of guarding against the prevailing manner in which these schools are conducted; of cautioning the brethren who take any part in them against having festivals, or anything of the kind that does not comport with the spirit of Christianity, which such schools are designed to promote; that care be taken lest pride be taught rather than humility, and that nothing be encouraged thereby that will conflict with the established order and character of the brethren, and that care should be taken that no offense be given to the brethren in these things.

"4. In reference to the controversial articles published in our religious papers, we counsel and advise our Brethren Quinter and Kurtz and H. R. Holsinger, to publish nothing in their periodicals that disputes the practice of the precepts and ordinances of the gospel, as handed down to us from Christ and the apostles, through and by the forefathers of the church; and that Brethren Nead, Kinsey, and all the brethren who write, be cautioned upon this head, and are hereby given to understand that a disregard to this counsel will subject a brother to the counsel of the church.

"5. In reference to prayer-meetings, social meetings, and Bible classes, we would say, that we advise the brethren to be very careful in conducting such meetings, when they have been introduced, and to conduct them not after the prevailing custom of the religious world, but in the order that the brethren conduct their meetings for worship; that brethren be cautioned against introducing such meetings where their introduction would cause confusion or trouble in the churches, and that elders always be consulted in introducing such meetings."

The conflict now became an issue for the entire Brotherhood. Grievances once officially aired, began to accumulate and the conflict became more acute, in spite of the efforts of Annual Meeting to quiet the uneasy spirits of the ultra-conservatives, and avoid offense in official procedure.

No particular significance is to be attached to the fact that this first petition came from Ohio, for it might just as easily have come from Eastern Pennsylvania or the Valley of Virginia or any of the strongholds of older settlements of Brethren, for all of them had some members who were in sympathy with this move.

While the ultra-conservatives became more insistent upon strict adherence to "the old ways," the progressive element of the church became more impotent with this ultra-conservatism and introduced more and more changes in their local churches. It is easy to understand the reaction which took place. The "immovable" conservatives trying to cut off the "impossible" progressives, and the greater body of the church trying to bring reconciliation between these two extreme groups.

Petitions continued to come to the Annual Meeting from the conservatives. Additional grievances were added which included objections to Sunday-school, protracted meetings, high schools, paid ministry, and organized missionary work.[11] Their efforts to hold the church to the "Old Order" of things failed in the Annual Meeting of 1880 and again in 1881. The ultra-conservatives of Southern Ohio then held a meeting and announced their future policy to carry out their conviction in spite of Annual Meeting's decisions. This led to their expulsion from the local churches and these expulsions were recognized as legal by the Annual Conference of 1882.

The Old Order Brethren organized under the name of Old German Baptist Brethren, and about 3,000 from the ranks of the mother church joined this group of intolerant conservatives. Their history from that point is not hard to guess. They issued

11. See Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, p. 107.

a pamphlet entitled, "The Brethren's Reasons," the preamble of which reads as follows:[12]

"The object and purpose of this pamphlet is to show how frequently the brethren did petition the Annual Meeting to put away the new and fast movements in the church, and to explain and set forth the REASONS and GROUNDS for producing and adopting the Resolutions of August 24th, 1881; and to show the opposition that arose, the trying times that many at first had to pass through, and to leave upon record, for the benefit of our children and the rising generation, the work and earnest labors of the old faithful brethren, to maintain the order and hold to the 'old land marks' of the German Baptist, or Dunkard Church, 'which our fathers have set,' and so hand it down to them 'as we learned it.'"

Decline was inevitable. All youthful spirit and inclination was denied a voice and cultural lag and decay has followed in its train. It was the privilege of the writer to attend one of the Annual Meetings of the Old Order Brethren, held in Roanoke County, Virginia, in the barn of one of their members, about twenty years ago in which the burden of their council still centered about the theme of nonconformity to the ways of the world. Some of those who attended that meeting refused to be conveyed from the railroad station to the meeting place in automobiles, looking upon them as "new" vehicles of worldliness. They were likewise opposed to the use of telephones and all like conveniences in modern culture. Not much statistical evidence is available for the early history of these people because of their objections to publicity of church data.

This intolerance toward cultural change became reflexive, and expelled from the church those who sought the expulsion for all who advocated change.

THE PROGRESSIVES

The period from 1869-1882 was a turbulent period in the Brethren Church. The Progressive element was clamoring just

12. The Brethren's Reasons, p. 4, The Object (Preamble).
This pamphlet was issued, from the press of the Old German Baptist Brethren, the Office of the Vindicator, their official publication. Jan., 1883.

as loudly for sweeping innovation as the Conservatives were crying for preservation of the old.

The leading spirit in the Progressive movement was Eld. Henry R. Holsinger.[13] He was for a time, assistant editor of the Brethren publication, the *Gospel Visitor,* but desiring to express his views more plainly than was possible through the *Visitor,* he established his own weekly paper in 1864, the *Christian Family Companion.* Through this paper Holsinger gave free criticism of many Brethren practices and it became the medium of expression for the extreme progressive element of the church. There is no doubt that the articles which appeared in Holsinger's paper provoked severe antagonism among the ultra-conservatives.[14] This intensified the conflict, and served to hasten the open break with the Progressive wing of the church. He later sold his interests to the *Gospel Visitor* and then in 1878 started another paper called the *Progressive Christian,* "with the avowed purpose of advocating progressive measures and reforms."[15] Much controversy was provoked in local and national Conferences of the church and at the Annual Conference of 1879, and Holsinger and some of the contributors to his paper were severely censured, for the radical progressivism they had advocated. A committee was appointed to visit Holsinger at his home church, the Berlin church in Pennsylvania, and hear his case.

The committee went, but failed to get either Holsinger or the Berlin church to agree to an investigation as recommended by Annual Conference. The committee then recommended the expulsion of Holsinger from church fellowship, and likewise "all who depart with him."[16]

There was a stormy Annual Conference in 1882 with Eld. Holsinger the center of controversy, for he represented a con-

13. It will be noted that this is the H. R. Holsinger who is author of the "History of the Tunkers and the Brethren Church," which has been referred to frequently.
14. See the quotation from the petition to the Conference of 1869 on page 74.
15. See Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, p. 111.
16. Ibid., p. 112.

siderable group of sympathizers. After heated discussions he was expelled. Immediately his friends made an effort toward reconciliation, but their appeal was thrown out by the Conference on technical grounds of method of procedure in appeal, and the breach was officially declared.

A convention was called of the Progressive sympathizers at Ashland, Ohio, June 29-30, 1882, and several churches and States were represented, mostly from Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania.[17]

They drew up a lengthy declaration of principles, declaring themselves the true conservators of the original principles of the church as outlined by Alexander Mack, and set up their organization as the true "Brethren Church."

Many strong men joined their ranks and their work prospered for some years. They established a college and a publishing house at Ashland, Ohio, where they are both still operating. Many of the claims upon which they based their criticism of the church, however, have long since been removed, because the mother church, in a more conservative program of advancement has adopted many changes and reforms and improvements as we shall see later, which make the Progressive Brethren Church unnecessary. Holsinger and his followers were wise and conscientious men, but they were not far-sighted enough, also Holsinger said of himself at the time of this controversy, that "divested of all its verbiage, the trouble with Henry is that he is now, and always has been, too far ahead of his day and generation."[18] They had neither the patience nor the Christian grace to teach without malice and work with longsuffering toward progressive developments. They were just as intolerant in their demands of the church as were the Old Order Conservatives, and their course was similar, only in the opposite direction.

The truth is that the Church of the Brethren has long since adopted practically all of the changes which the Progressives

17. See Holsinger's History of the Tunkers, p. 530, 531.
18. Holsinger, History of the Tunkers, p. 509.

advocated, but not until the Brethren Culture Patterns could be modified without severe or sudden disruption.

Some of the congregations of the Progressive Brethren have been absorbed by the Church of the Brethren where they were in close contact in urban communities. For some years there have been committees on fraternal relationship appointed by the national Conferences of the two churches, and at the instigation of the Progressive Brethren, seeking to reunite these bodies. It is to be hoped that this work may soon be culminated in a whole-hearted reunion. After weathering this tempestuous period of cultural struggles the Church of the Brethren emerged with experience seasoned in the fires that tested faith.

Brethren in Christ could not disown each other without feeling the wounds of torn fellowships, and these experiences last. Churches were split and families divided against themselves. And all this happened, not because of any fundamental differences on basic doctrines of the church, for on these there was much accord, but on the methods and means of expressing their faith and observing church ordinances. And these, after all, are the tools of culture.

Statistics for accurate comparative measurements are entirely inadequate, but a rather interesting picture of the distribution of Brethren people on a graded scale of conservatism about the time the extreme Conservative and Progressive elements broke off from the main body, is presented by the following analysis.

In 1881-1882, before the discussion occurred, there were 57,749 Brethren.[19] About 3,000 withdrew with the ultra-conservatives or Old Order Brethren. Approximately the same number were expelled or withdrew of their own choice and formed the Progressive movement. (No definite figures are available, until about ten years later. This movement spread over a number of years.)

It is safe to assume that among the larger body of Brethren who remained to constitute the Church of the Brethren, there

19. Gillin, The Dunkers, p. 185.

were many who leaned toward the conservative end of the scale, and probably about an equal number who were distinctly more progressive than conservative.

The writer, therefore, proposes that relative conservatism among the Brethren people can be represented graphically on a five point scale, showing the approximate percentage distribution for the different levels of conservatism. It will be noted in graph No. 1, and graph No. 2, which follow, that the proportions when plotted, conform closely to the normal distribution of measurable traits for any unselected group, giving a low percentage of individuals at each extreme margin of the scale, and the greater number of individuals grouped about the central point of measurement.[20]

It seems probable that much the same proportional distribution of conservatism would be found to exist, for any religious body where statistical data are available.

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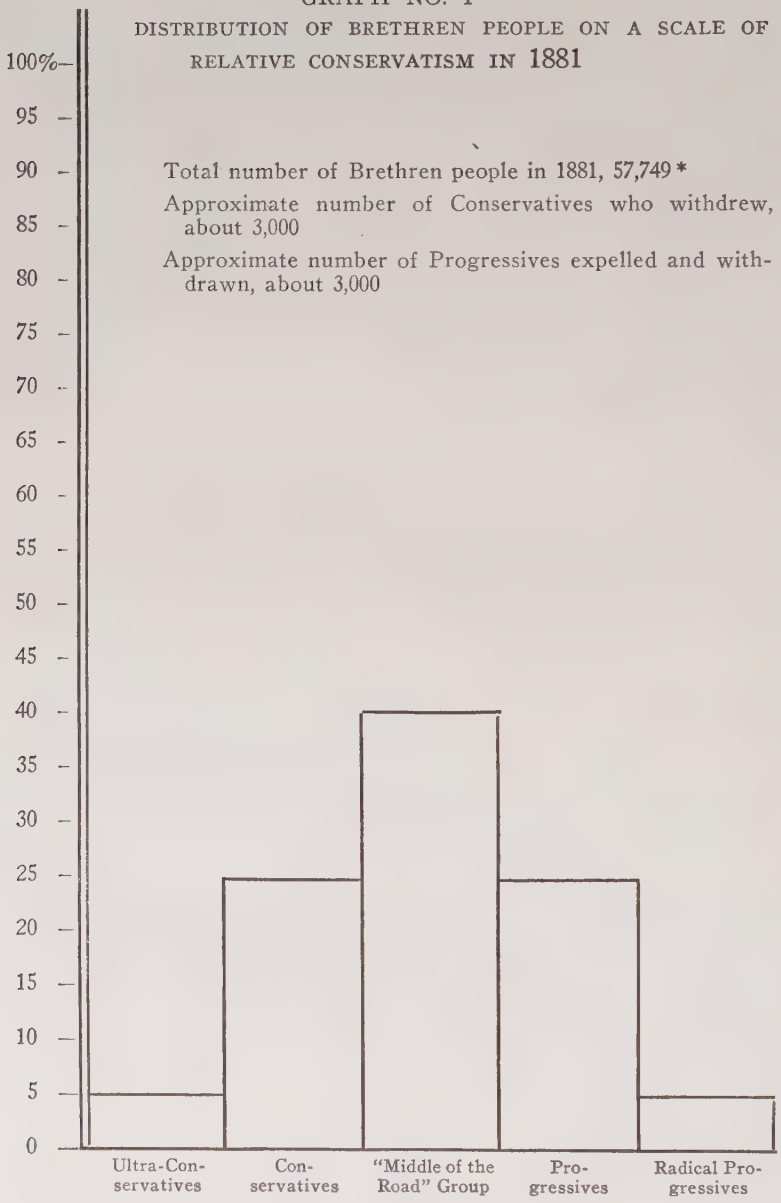
20. See C. W. Odell, Educational Statistics, ch. II.

GRAPH NO. I

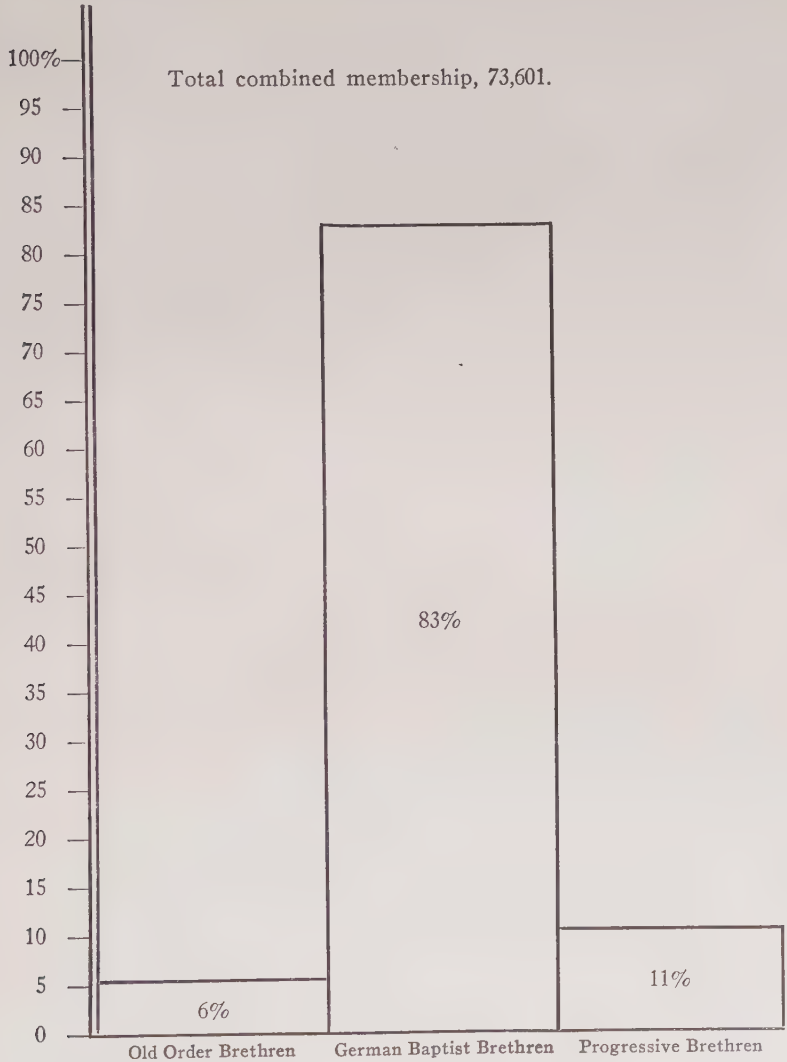
DISTRIBUTION OF BRETHREN PEOPLE ON A SCALE OF RELATIVE CONSERVATISM IN 1881



* See Gillin, The Dunkers, p. 185.

GRAPH NO. II

RELATIVE MEMBERSHIP OF OLD ORDER BRETHREN, GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN, AND PROGRESSIVE BRETHREN, BY CENSUS OF 1890*



* Figures taken from Census of Religious Bodies—1926.

The following chart shows in a general way the comparison in membership of the Church of the Brethren and the Conservative and Progressive branches which split off, during the last 40 years.

COMPARATIVE MEMBERSHIP CHART†

	Membership				Percentage Increase in Members Over Last Census		
	1890	1906	1916	1926	1890 to 1906	to 1916	to 1926
Church of the Brethren	61,101	76,547	105,102	128,392	25.3	37.3	22.2
Old German Baptist Brethren	4,411	3,388	3,399	3,036	—23.2*	0.3	—10.7*
Progressive Brethren	8,089	17,042	24,060	26,026	110.7	41.2	8.2

* A minus sign (—) denotes decrease.

† Compiled from the Census of Religious Bodies—1926.

PART III

BRETHREN CULTURE PATTERNS

CHAPTER VI

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT

The organization of the Church of the Brethren has expanded from a very simple form of "gentlemen's agreement" to highly specialized functional machinery. The order of development has naturally been from the small local church or congregation, to a group of churches which function both as individual congregations and collectively as a religious body.

In the beginning there was no particular unity of congregations, except the unifying efforts of a few influential church leaders like Peter Becker of Germantown and Martin Urner of the Coventry church, whose frequent fellowship with the Brethren of the colonial congregations tended to unify the churches. In reality they were congregational in type. Each managed its own affairs without much regard for the others. The fact that the early congregations were widely scattered and communication was difficult, strengthened the congregational tendency. Individual churches could devise their own culture patterns without being checked by other congregations except as the elders found occasion to visit among the different churches. Hence each separate congregation tended to become a law unto itself in the interpretation of its doctrines, and their accompanying expressions. When a more centralizing organization was eventually set up, some of the churches found great difficulty in surrendering their congregational freedom to conform to the patterns prescribed by the general church Conferences, district and national. The Conestoga church in Pennsylvania,[1] the Brethren Colony in Kentucky[2] and the Bachelor Run church in Indiana[3] are examples of cultural adjustment problems due to isolation and individualization among the churches. As the general organiza-

1. See page 71.
2. Ibid.
3. See p. 72.

tion of the brotherhood of churches became stronger the conflict between the individualistic churches and the general organization of churches, grew keener. As has already been pointed out, some churches were eliminated, some were divided and reorganized, but most of them eventually fell in line.

The principal purpose in this chapter is to set forth the organization and functions of the Church of the Brethren as it now is. It will be necessary, however, to trace out certain historic developments in the government of the church in order to show correctly the relationship between the various units of organization which now exist.

LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATION

The whole governmental structure of the Church of the Brethren rests on the legislative organization which has developed. In a remarkable way the local churches serve as pillars supporting the superstructure of the general church body, and in turn are controlled and fashioned by the national organization. This relationship of parts is the natural point of departure in analyzing the government of the church and its functions in determining Brethren culture. To understand properly the organization and government of the Church of the Brethren it is necessary to begin with the local church to set up the national legislative machinery for church government.

THE LOCAL CHURCH COUNCIL

Quarterly council meetings are held in the local congregations, at which meetings any matter pertaining to the interests of the local church may be discussed. Also any matters concerning the interests of the Brotherhood in general may be presented at these council meetings by any members of the congregation.

These meetings are presided over by a moderator, usually the elder in charge of the church, but in some churches where there are several elders this honor is passed around among them. A clerk keeps records of the council meetings. A treasurer, also elected annually by the church, is responsible for the finances of the local congregation. The meetings of these local church coun-

cils are open forums for discussion of local church problems and are usually very democratic in their procedure. This depends somewhat upon the inclination of strong leaders to assume authority. The very democratic nature of the organization of local churches makes it possible for dominant personalities to assume a rôle of dictatorship, or its equivalent, unless balanced by equally strong persons. The writer has observed several instances of arbitrary control of a local church by an elder who rules autocratically over his people. Whether this is injurious to the life of a church depends greatly upon the wisdom of the elder and the ability of the members to handle their own affairs in religion.

In earlier days, when the party lines were more keenly drawn between conservative and progressive elements in the churches, the quarterly council meetings were occasions for many heated discussions on matters of conformity to specific culture patterns. As many as fifty have been known to be expelled from membership in a congregation at a single meeting, because they refused to conform strictly in their manner of dress to the fashion prescribed by the church. In recent years comparatively few personal matters have been brought to these councils. Emphasis has shifted, in large part, from individual conformity to the welfare and functions of the group.

DISTRICT MEETING

In 1866, the National Conference of the Church of the Brethren which is the highest governing body, officially known as the Annual Conference, recommended

" . . . that each state form itself into convenient District Meetings. These meetings shall be formed by one or two representatives from each organized church. . . . They shall endeavor to settle all questions of a local character, but those of a general character, or those that concern the Brotherhood in general, should be taken to Annual Conference. And all questions that cannot be settled at the District Meetings should be taken to Annual Meeting.

"No business can come before District Meeting until it has passed through the church in which it originated. It is understood that any member falling under the council of the church, and being dissatisfied

with the decision, may appeal to the Annual Meeting by presenting a petition signed by a number of members of the church." [4]

Following these recommendations many Districts were formed in order to relieve the congestion at Annual Conference in dealing with many problems of local churches.

In 1912 Annual Conference decided that

"Each church of two hundred members or less should be represented at District Meetings by two delegates. Churches of over two hundred members may have an extra delegate for each additional two hundred members or fraction thereof. The delegates thus chosen shall constitute the voting power of the District Meeting." [5]

At present there are forty-nine State Districts of the Church of the Brethren. Virginia and Pennsylvania are each divided into five districts; in Kansas there are four; in Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, three each; but in sections of the country where the Brethren are sparsely settled two or three States are included in a single district, as in the case of Oklahoma, Panhandle of Texas, and New Mexico. The districting is determined largely by Brethren population and geographic location.

In recent years some of the neighboring Districts have combined and have held Regional Conferences. In fact the Regional Conference idea seems to be growing, but up to this time these have been Instructional Conferences for the most part, where departmental problems are discussed and programs arranged, such as Ministerial Conferences, and Young People's Conferences. Regional Conferences have, as yet, no official recognition by Annual Conference.

The officers of District Meeting are Moderator, Reading Clerk, and Recording Secretary. They are chosen by the District Conference and serve for one year, tho some choose a Secretary for three years. The order of procedure is similar to that of the local church councils. Most issues are decided by a majority vote. No decisions contrary to the decisions of Annual Meeting are valid.

4. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, pp. 30, 31.
5. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, pp. 31, 32.

All members of the churches are urged to attend the District Meetings in their respective Districts, but only the delegates chosen to represent the churches have voting power in these conferences.

The churches are expected to choose such delegates to represent them at District Meetings as will loyally defend the doctrines and practices of the church.

"Macoupin Creek Church petitioned Annual Meeting of 1894 to require all District Meetings to demand their local churches to send no delegate to District Meeting who is not in the order of the Brethren in uniformity of dress, and wearing of their hair and beard, and who indulges in the habit of using tobacco.

"Answer of Annual Meeting, The petition is hereby granted."[6]

This decision has not been revoked or modified, but it should be added that it has become rather ineffective, except in certain very conservative Districts. It is still the order of the day, however, for the credentials of delegates to be examined by an examining committee of the conference before they take their seats as delegates.

These District Meetings serve as leveling influences among the churches within their scope. By comparison of local problems and open discussion of their several practices, group culture tends to become uniform throughout each District. This is noticeably true in certain Districts where the Brethren people are thickly settled. This becomes quite evident when we compare the culture patterns of different Districts, particularly, certain adjacent Districts, as for example, Eastern Pennsylvania and Middle Pennsylvania. In Eastern Pennsylvania the churches, generally speaking, have always been very conservative, while the Middle and Western Districts of the State have been more progressive. It would not be extremely difficult to classify the Districts of the entire Brotherhood of the Church of the Brethren in a similar manner.

The District Conferences serve as mediating organizations between the local churches and their National Conference. They

6. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, p. 31.

filter the problems which grow up in local congregations and pass on to Annual Conference all queries which pertain to general church problems. They, therefore, serve to strengthen the network of church organization by tying the segregated units into larger groups, which themselves focus into a single centralized organization of the whole.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

It should be noted that the separate churches were organized into a national association long before the territory was divided into Districts. It was not until the national organization became unwieldy, that the States were divided into Districts to make the organization more complete.

The gathering of the scattered congregations into a general assembly for united activities did not come about until thirty-two years after the origin of the church in Germany. It was then the indirect result of the efforts of Count Zinzendorf, a Moravian bishop, who came to America in the year 1741, with the avowed purpose of bringing about unity in spirit among the various religious sects of the German people in the colonies. Considerable strife, jealousies, and unpleasant rivalry had developed among some of them. He visited their churches and issued public appeals in open letters for a united assembly of all of them to establish "a church of God in the Spirit." The first synod was held in Germantown, January 12, 1742. Six more such meetings were held during the same year.[7] The Brethren seem to have taken an active interest in these general synods and were well represented. Zinzendorf failed in his purpose to unite the various German sects, but he succeeded in establishing the Pennsylvania Synod of his own party.

The Brethren who attended these first synods were evidently impressed with this method of procedure to create group solidarity and they must have sensed the obvious value of such meetings as a means of unifying the beliefs within a religious group which had no creed. They also furnished opportunity to bring to trial those who violated the accepted practices of the group.

7. M. G. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 472, 473.

Furthermore the synods, under the direction of Zinzendorf, threatened to exert a proselyting influence among the Brethren. Hence as a means of strengthening their own church polity and somewhat in self-protection, the Brethren established their *Annual Meeting.* The first one was held in the year 1742,[8] and presumably each year since then, although we have no record of the minutes of these meetings until after 1778.[9]

There is, however, a consecutive record of minutes, classified and revised, from 1830 to the present time.

These meetings were officially known as Annual Meetings, and the minutes printed and published as the Minutes of Annual Meeting of the Church of the Brethren, up until 1917, when the minutes of the meeting for that year came from the Brethren press as the Minutes of Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren, and appear under that title for each year since 1917. This simply indicates the adoption of a term which was commonly used by other religious bodies to designate their general meetings.

These Annual Conferences, since 1912, have been held in rotation from some point in the Eastern States to some point in the Central States the following year, and to some point in the far Western States or Canada the next, and then the same rotation repeated. Since 1910 the place of meeting in the Central States has been Winona Lake, Indiana, and the Eastern point since 1915 has been Hershey, Pennsylvania. No fixed place of meeting has yet been located for the far west. The Conference usually begins on the first Wednesday in June and lasts for one week.

The Annual Conferences are usually well attended by members from all parts of the country. It is not unusual for a goodly number to cross the entire continent to attend these meetings as they rotate from east to west. Large numbers from the churches located near the place of Conference inva-

8. Dr. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 478.
Dr. Brumbaugh thinks it must have been held in Martin Urner's house, for it was a place of frequent meetings.
9. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, p. 241.

riably attend. Crowds of fifty thousand or more have been known to gather at the Conference grounds to attend the programs offered during the early sessions of the meeting, and a very significant element in the drawing of such vast numbers to these Conferences is the chance of meeting friends and renewing acquaintances. Programs of an inspirational and instructional nature, sponsored by the various organizations of the church, consume much of the time. The general business period usually occupies the last two days of the Conference. It is in this session that the cultural patterns of the Church of the Brethren have been officially fixed and readjusted from time to time.

STANDING COMMITTEE

The organization for the business session of Annual Conference, and the order of business transacted there, are determined for the most part by the Standing Committee. The importance of this committee as a selective agency and the power it holds in moulding the affairs of the church make it worthy of special consideration.

Each State District is entitled to send one representative to the Standing Committee if its membership is less than 3,000; two, if the District membership is between 3,000 and 6,000; and three delegates if the membership is 6,000 or more.[10] The Standing Committee convenes at the beginning of Annual Conference and proceeds to elect officers of the Conference for the year, namely: Reader, Secretary, and Treasurer. These are later presented to Conference for confirmation. The Moderator is chosen at the close of the business session a year in advance of the Conference at which he is to preside. He may be chosen from within or without the Standing Committee, and may not serve oftener than one year in three. He may be elected as a regular delegate to Standing Committee from his

10. See Minutes of Annual Meeting of 1924, pp. 1, 2.
Thirty-two Districts have less than 3,000 members, 13 have between 2,000 and 6,000 members. Four have over 6,000 members. See Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren, 1931, p. 49.

home District and, if he serves both as Moderator and delegate, he may vote as other delegates.

The Secretary is elected for three years and may succeed himself. He has no voting power, except when serving as a delegate. He keeps the records of the proceedings and is the custodian of the official papers of the Conference.

The other officers are elected for one year, and may not serve two years in succession.[11] They serve for the Standing Committee and also for the open Conference which follows.

The sessions of the Standing Committee are held behind closed doors and one brother is chosen as doorkeeper, who may admit only members of the Committee or those who have business with the Committee. A hearing is given to all queries sent up from the several District Meetings. Standing Committee answers queries which Districts sending, failed to answer. These answers cannot be final until acted upon by the General Conference, but they furnish guides in expediting the decisions of the open Conference and serve to select the important issues for special consideration. The fact that the delegates to the Standing Committee are usually well-seasoned elders and men of much experience in handling church problems, gives strength to the answers attached to queries by this Committee when they come before the open Conference. The Standing Committee has no right to change a query before it is presented to the open Conference. The recommendations and answers made by Standing Committee may be approved, rejected, modified or recommitted by the Conference.

In spite of the importance to be attached to this committee of Annual Conference, its functions were never very clearly defined until 1931, when the following outline of its functions[12] was officially approved by the Conference:

1. Duties of Standing Committee—

(a) The Standing Committee shall appoint the officers of the Annual

11. See Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1924, p. 2. Also, Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, p. 23.
12. Minutes of 1931, p. 10.

Conference and members of all Boards and Committees authorized by Annual Conference.

(b) Shall receive all the material for Annual Conference and decide the order of presentation.

(c) Shall place answers to all queries not answered by the Districts from which they come. The expression, "Passed and sent to Annual Meeting" shall not be interpreted as an answer to a query.

(d) Shall consider and determine action on matters of appeal for committees to churches.

(e) Shall receive and review all reports to Conference prepared by the General Boards and Committees.

(f) Matters deemed of vital importance to the Brotherhood though not coming through Districts or General Boards may be presented by Standing Committee to the Conference.

(g) A brief report of the conditions in the Districts shall be given to Standing Committee by a delegate from the District and a report of the work of Standing Committee shall be given before the elders of the District and of the Annual Conference to District Meeting.

(h) The Standing Committee is a supervisory body and interested in the work of administration in the entire Brotherhood, therefore, any irregularity or indifference to duty in Districts and churches or any nonfeasance by officials thereof shall receive attention by Standing Committee and the committee shall attempt to correct such conditions through the organization of District elders.

2. Members of Standing Committee may be elected to serve twice in five years, but not oftener.

As the organization of the church grows more complex and its functions more specialized, various departments and councils have relieved the Standing Committee of some of the duties which it once performed. It still remains a significant factor in determining the trend of affairs in the church, however, and a place on the Standing Committee is an honored position among the Brethren. Until very recent years only the older and more mature elders of the various Districts were chosen to sit on this Committee, but in recent years there is a definite tendency toward the election of younger men. This tendency points to very significant cultural possibilities as will be shown later in this treatise.

GENERAL BUSINESS SESSION

The General Session of Annual Conference at which the business of the church is conducted, has previously been referred to as the "open Conference." The method of procedure justifies this expression. It is not only open for delegates from all the churches of the Brotherhood, who may participate freely in the democratic discussion of the business of the church, but all the members of all the churches are welcome at all the business sessions. More than that, those who are not members of the church are likewise welcome and frequently attend.

Any member of the church may speak before the Conference if he so desires, but only delegates fully authorized to represent their respective churches and Districts, may vote on the issues presented. Thus the delegates from the churches and the members of the Standing Committee constitute the voting body of the Annual Conference. Each congregation may send a representative to the Annual Conference, and if its membership is over two hundred it may send two. They may be laymen, deacons, ministers or elders, and either men or women. These delegates must present themselves in person to the Committee on Credentials before the opening of the business session of the Conference and are asked to subscribe to the following:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES

1. I again declare my faith in, and grateful acceptance of, Jesus Christ, "the only begotten Son of God," as my personal Savior; and the Bible as God's infallible Word of Truth, and the New Testament as the ultimate rule of faith and practice for men (John 1:14; 3:16 and 36; 12:47, 48; Luke 21:33; Acts 10:43; 2 Tim. 3:16).

2. It is my sincere endeavor, in submission to God's Holy Spirit, to make my life, at all times, in purpose and in act, a true expression of the teaching of Jesus and his apostles (1 Cor. 10:31-33; Rom. 12:1 and 2).

3. I pledge my loyalty, my life and influence, to the Church of the Brethren and to her Doctrines and practices as taught by the Scriptures and defined by her General Conference (1 Peter 1:13-16; 3:3, 4; James 5:12; Luke 3:14; 1 Cor. 6:1-8; John 18:20; 1 Peter 5:13-15; John 13; 1 Cor. 11:1-21).

4. As a delegate to the above-named Conference, I have carefully read the Scriptures cited in this declaration, and promise prayerfully to consider, with open mind and a teachable spirit, all matters presented, and to act, by voice and vote, in good faith, for the best interest of the church, that she may continue to be "the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Thess. 5:17; Rom. 14:22-23).[13]

It has been the practice of the Brethren from their earliest history until now to delegate only those of sound faith in the church and its doctrines and character beyond reproach, to vote in their legislative assembly. In 1881, the following request came to the Annual Conference:

"We request Annual Meeting, through District Meeting, to send only such brethren as delegates and members of Standing Committee, and to settle difficulties, who are sound in the faith, and who carry out and advocate the order of the church in wearing the clothes, hair and beard, as well as in everything else, with the understanding that they will be rejected if not sent in harmony with the above."[14]

The Conference gave the following answer to this request:

"Brethren who are opposed to the established order of the church are not suitable brethren to settle troubles in the church, or to represent as delegates."[15]

Representation was further qualified in 1896 when the following amendment was added:

"That no delegate to Annual Meeting, or District Meeting, or member of Standing Committee be accepted as such who uses, raises, buys or sells tobacco."[16]

Two years later this decision was further amended to exclude delegates "who use tobacco for medicinal purposes only."[17]

At the next conference (1899) this amendment was further modified:

"So as to exclude from the privilege of sitting as delegates in District or Annual Meeting the member who has tobacco raised as well as the one who raises it."[18]

13. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, p. 28.
14. Op. cit., p. 25.
15. Ibid., p. 26.
16. Ibid., p. 26.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.

Obviously these decisions were intended to exclude from the law-making body of the church all persons whose character and habits of life were not exemplary of the type of life which the New Testament recommends.

This last statement is made advisedly because the Brethren justify all their religious claims by the New Testament, which is their sole religious creed. The social causations for establishing a yearly assembly of the churches as has been pointed out previously, grew out of the efforts of Count Zinzendorf toward unifying the German sects.[19] But the Brethren's authority for holding the Annual Conference is found in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles:

"When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question."

"And being brought on their way by the church, they passed thru Phenice and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles; and they caused great joy into all the brethren."

"The Apostles and elders came together to consider this matter."

This chapter from the book of Acts, from which the above verses are quoted, is read by the Reader at the opening of each Annual Conference. In the earlier years the functions of the Conference were almost entirely such as those exercised at the Jerusalem Conference; namely, interpretative and judicial, interpreting the doctrines of the church and judging the conduct of its members.[20] Record of the early Conferences of the Church of the Brethren are full of queries and decisions concerning the authority for church practices, and matters of individual conduct. More recently the emphasis in Annual Conference has shifted to administrative functions of the church, and "dissension and disputation" are no longer the occasions for general council of the elders.

The following rules were adopted in 1915 to govern the proceedings of the business sessions of the Conference:

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19. See page 95.
20. See J. W. Lear, The Functions of the Annual Conference, Full Report of the Annual Conference, 1927, pp. 6-11.

1. All question, with their answers, for discussion, shall be read by the Reading Clerk, after which the Moderator shall declare the same the business of the meeting.

2. No one shall speak more than twice on the same question. The first speech shall be limited to fifteen minutes and the second to five minutes.

3. The Moderator shall decide when a question shall be put on its passage, but any one from the voting body may move the "Previous Question."

4. A two-thirds majority shall be necessary to pass answers to all queries; a majority for other motions.

5. All appeals from the rulings of the Moderator shall be decided by the voting body.

6. "Robert's Rules of Order" shall be the standard for any point not covered by these rules.

7. These rules may be amended at any regular session.

This simple code of rules gives some idea of the manner in which the Conference is conducted. One who attends these sessions is impressed with the democratic spirit which prevails, and at the same time with the smoothness and precision with which the business of the church is transacted.

The Annual Conference is the highest authority in the Church of the Brethren, and all its decisions are final. No individual or congregation or any other within the church group, has the authority to alter or revoke the decisions of this Conference without its approval. Thus the government of the church is democratic and thoroughly representative. On the other hand, not all individuals or congregations are scrupulously careful to abide by the full letter of the decisions of the Annual Conference. In fact, many of the decisions of former years are not observed strictly in present day practices among the churches. But because of the gradual changes taking place in the general cultural background, not even enough sentiment is aroused by the obvious violations to raise charges against them, or call them to account. Rather the present tendency is toward the revision of former decisions to declare valid the changing customs as they become widely practiced among the churches.

The minutes of each Annual Conference are published in full

and enough copies sent to each State District to supply a copy to each family of members in its domain. Hence the proceedings of each Annual Conference are made available to all the members of the church, but it is the opinion of the writer that only a relatively small per cent of them actually read these minutes or take any active interest in the business transacted or decisions rendered by the Annual Conference. This does not necessarily indicate a waning interest in the affairs of the church, but rather marks the passing of the old sensational type of Conference, where members were called before the tribunal of the church and excommunicated for failure to conform to the fixed patterns which it prescribed.

To those who have followed the procedure of Annual Conference in recent years certain cultural changes are apparent. For almost two centuries it convened annually as a sort of tribunal for the settlement of problems of culture conflict and violations of prescribed cultural patterns. Its functions consisted mostly in defining and preserving the cultural modes of the church. Accompanying these legislative and judicial functions of the Annual Conference, it furnished special occasions for doctrinal teaching and inspirational sermons by the elders.

In contrast to these functions the present day Brethren Conference is an extended series of departmental sessions dealing strongly in methodology and constructive program building. The addresses are delivered by prominent churchmen, college presidents and pastors. Occasionally some eminent lecturer is invited from outside the Brethren fraternity to address the Conference on some important current moral or social issue. The business session proceeds with order and dispatch in handling matters of a business character. Much of the time is spent in revising and reshaping former decisions and making new ones in keeping with a changing cultural background. It is noticeable that an increasing number of young men are participating in the programs of the Annual Conference and are being assigned to responsible positions on the several boards and committees. Less emphasis is being placed on religious inspiration and more emphasis on social regeneration; less significance is

attached to cultural conformity, and more to social efficiency.

Of the fourteen major items of business which were presented to the Conference of 1931, eight of them were concerned with some revision in former policies or practices in order to meet present conditions to better advantage. One of the items presented involved an entirely new movement, namely, the recognition of an Association of Pastors, and the other five were concerned with, (1) the location of the next Conference, (2) the budget for the ensuing year, (3) the deposition of ministers guilty of misconduct, (4) the reaffirmation of the church's peace policy, and (5) the reaffirmation of the church's position in support of the Prohibition Laws of the United States. These items are indicative of the cultural trends in the present day Conferences of the Church of the Brethren. Formerly it was a clearing house for a multitude of petty differences in religious group practices; now it serves as a sort of reservoir thru which the local churches may tap the great streams of culture surging thru the channels of religious life in America.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

As the work of the church developed, various departments have been organized and administrative boards appointed to promote the work of each department.

GENERAL MISSION BOARD

The first general board organized by the church for specialized work, was the Domestic and Foreign Mission Board, of five members, appointed by Annual Conference in 1880, to "superintend the domestic and foreign missionary work of the general brotherhood."[21] It is now known as the General Mission Board and consists of seven members. It is responsible for all the missionary interests of the church.

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

In 1890, the Annual Conference appointed a committee of three elders for each Brethren school, and charged them with

21. E. S. Moyer, Missions in the Church of the Brethren, pp. 130, 131 (1931).

the duty "To watch over the moral and religious influence of the schools, and see that the principles of the Gospel and church government be carried out as defined by Annual Meeting, . . . "[22] In 1908 these visiting committees were discontinued by Annual Conference and an Educational Board of seven members to serve for five years each was appointed to take over the supervision of the educational work of the church.[23] This board grappled with the educational problems of the church until 1927. But finding itself unable to cope with the developments in the educational institutions because of its inadequate organization and constitutional provisions, the board proposed to Annual Conference a reorganization and re-definition of its functions. Whereupon, by approval of Annual Conference, the membership on this board was changed to three members appointed by Standing Committee and approved by the Conference, and also the president of each Brethren College and of the Theological Seminary. The membership of this board at the present time is twelve. The appointed members serve for three years; one term expiring each year, and the term of membership for the presidents of the schools continues during their respective periods of incumbency. The duties of the General Education Board as adopted by the Annual Conference are as follows:

(1) To devise ways and means whereby our educational institutions may recruit and educate an adequate lay, ministerial and missionary leadership for the Church of the Brethren.

(2) To develop and nurture among the churches a higher Christian educational consciousness.

(3) To encourage closer coöperation and harmony of action among our institutions of learning.

(4) To assist all of our institutions of learning in promoting endowment and betterment campaigns so as to bring them up to the highest educational and spiritual efficiency.

(5) To inaugurate in each institution proper and comparable meth-

22. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 518.
23. Op. cit., p. 869.

ods of accounting and to encourage an independent audit of books so as to render a strict accounting of stewardship to the church.

(6) To coöperate with the various general boards of the church in promoting the Gospel of Jesus Christ and in building the Kingdom of God.

(7) To keep in touch with the great educational movements of our times and to appropriate such benefits as they may offer.

(8) To incorporate so as to receive gifts and hold property for the purpose of promoting Christian education.

(9) To submit in writing a report of its activities to each Annual Conference.

(10) To recommend to Annual Conference the future founding and dissolution of all schools, and to formulate and foster a general educational policy and program for the entire Brotherhood.

BOARD OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Prior to 1895 the Sunday-school work of the church was under the direction of the Missionary and Tract Committee. In that year Annual Conference appointed a Sunday-school Committee of five, to assist the Missionary and Tract Committee "in obtaining statistics and proper information in regard to the needs of our Sunday-school work."[24] One of its chief functions was to see that the Sunday-school literature contained sound doctrinal teaching. It was an advisory committee and had no authority to control the Sunday-schools. In 1911, this committee was superseded by the establishing of a Sunday-school Board consisting of five members, authorized to supervise all literature for the Sunday-schools and teacher training courses; aid the District Sunday-school Secretaries in organizing and promoting the work in their Districts; provide for the Sunday-school work and interests at Annual Conference; secure complete statistics; cooperate with the colleges in training the young people for Sunday-school work; and secure funds thru church offerings and gifts for the promotion of their work.[25]

At the request of this board the name was changed the following year (1912), to the General Sunday-school Board. By 1927,

24. Op. cit., p. 630.
25. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, pp. 112, 113.

"The work of the General Sunday-school Board has come to include the Sunday-schools, Vacation Schools, Weekday Schools, Special work with Young People, Junior Church League, Mothers and Daughters' Associations, Fathers and Sons, Leadership Training, Frontiers, and Moentita Girls. It seeks to direct all the teaching functions of the church."[26]

In 1928, Annual Conference authorized the organization of the Board of Religious Education "making it responsible for that part of the church program formerly committed to the General Sunday-school Board, the General Welfare Board, and the Music Committee."[27] This board now consists of fifteen members, including a general secretary, a director of young people's work, a director of children's work, an editor of Sunday-school publications, and two assistant editors.

It will be seen that the work of this board has undergone several revisions and at the present time its work covers the whole scope of Religious Education in the church, with one notable exception. It has no particular connection with the Departments of Religious Education, or Bible and Theology of the Brethren Colleges, or with its Theological Seminary. Its primary functions are the promotion and supervision of the program of religious education in relation to the local church organization, and training schools and conferences for church school workers.

GENERAL MINISTERIAL BOARD

There was no General Ministerial Board to coördinate the work of the ministry in the Church of the Brethren until 1921, although District Ministerial Boards were authorized by the Annual Conference in 1917. A committee was appointed by the Conference to study the pastoral problem and to devise a plan by which the organization of District Ministerial Boards might be made more effective and better meet the needs of the

26. Full Report of Annual Conference, 1927, p. 80.
27. The General Welfare Board was organized in 1924 to promote the interests of the church concerning such problems as peace and temperance, child rescue work, etc. The music committee appointed in 1917 had to do with arrangements for music at the Annual Conference, compiling church hymnals, arranging singing classes, etc.

church.[28] This committee made the following recommendations which were approved by the Annual Conference of 1921:

The General Conference shall appoint five conservative elders, experienced as overseers, and sound in the fundamentals of Christian doctrine and church government, who shall constitute the General Ministerial Board of the Church of the Brethren. The members of this Board shall be geographically distributed, so that they may serve most profitably the various sections of the Brotherhood. The following shall constitute the duties of the board:

(1) To direct a survey of the various church Districts through the District Ministerial Boards, to secure data helpful in locating pastors and workers in the various fields, and to keep on file an up-to-date fund of information, relating to fields of labor and workers available.

(2) To provide blanks for filing, for application both of pastors and churches, and any other blanks or questionnaires needed to carry on the work. The application blank for pastors should incorporate the following heads: Personal, Family, Education, Professional and Doctrinal.

(3) To coöperate with District Ministerial Boards in providing pastoral and evangelistic service in their territory and to assist these boards to coördinate in working the whole field.

(4) To coöperate with the various Church Boards and Institutions, so as to discover and direct prospective pastors and evangelists to fields where they may serve most efficiently.

(5) To visit Districts having no Ministerial Board, and to assist in perfecting and making operative this organization.

(6) To provide for the support of superannuated ministers.

(7) The Board shall make a report to the General Conference, and may recommend such measures as are deemed helpful in the promotion of the work.

(8) Expenses of the General Board shall be paid from the Annual Meeting Treasury until otherwise provided for by the Conference.

Upon the adoption of this report all minutes, conflicting with the same, are hereby repealed.[29]

The Ministerial Board has made a careful statistical survey of the churches with regard to the problems of the ministry during the past few years, and is rendering valuable service during this transition period from unpaid ministers to salaried pastors in the

28. Minutes of Annual Conference, 1921, p. 3.
29. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1921, p. 3.

churches, and is helping to standardize the training for ministers. The work of this committee, however, is yet in the beginning stage.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MEN'S WORK

An organization for Men's Work of the Church of the Brethren was first officially recognized in 1926 upon the recommendation of the Council of Promotion.[30] A Men's Work Committee of fifteen was appointed by the Men's organization and approved by the Conference. The name of this organization was changed to National Council of Men's Work in 1928. This is a laymen's organization among the men of the church which fosters men's service and interest in church work.

COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S WORK

In 1917 the Sisters' Aid Society was given official recognition by the church. The women's work of the church expanded to include the Aid Society, Mothers and Daughters' Associations, Missionary Activities, Bible Study, and Children's Work. In 1930 the women's work was coördinated into the Council of Women's Work including a representative for each of the above departments, appointed by themselves, but subject to the approval of Annual Conference. This Council is rapidly promoting the recognition of the work of the women of the church.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

In 1920, the Annual Conference appointed a committee of three "to prepare and supervise the Conference programs from year to year."[31] These appointments were made for one, two and three years respectively, and one member to be appointed for three years each succeeding year to perpetuate the committee.

30. The Council of Promotion was organized in 1923, as a sort of coördinating committee for the promotion of the general work of the church. It was made up of one member from each of the General Boards and committees and one member appointed by Conference. This council was discontinued in 1928 when a general Council of Boards was organized.
31. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, p. 13.

It was given rank with the other general boards of the church. Since 1928 the Moderator and the Secretary of the Conference automatically become ex-officio members of this committee by the decision of the Conference. The work of the Program Committee has become more extensive since the Annual Conference includes programs sponsored by practically all of the principal departments and general boards of the church. Then, too, the Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren is one of the largest of its kind. Hence the responsibilities of this committee have become heavy in recent years.

COUNCIL OF BOARDS

The most recent development in the coördination of the various departments of church work among the Brethren is the organization of the Council of Boards, which came about in 1928 as a result of the work of the Council of Promotion in unifying the various departments of the church as represented by the several boards. Upon its own recommendation the Council of Promotion was discontinued and its duties were taken over by the general boards of the church, coördinated into the Council of Boards which is now the highest administrative organization of the church.[32] Its membership consists of all the members of all the General Boards, namely, General Mission Board, General Education Board, Board of Religious Education, General Ministerial Board, National Council of Men's Work, Council of Women's Work, and Conference Program Committee. Its functions are the general promotion and supervision of all the work of the church thru its various specialized boards. This coördination of interests tends to give stability, unity, and authority to the work of the various departments of administration. The nature of its organization offers large possibilities for cultural revisions within the church. As a new organization it is free from the limiting influence of tradition. Representing a variety of interests, there is little likelihood of radical cultural developments in any one direction against the balance of power which rests in a large membership. The close relationship of interests should make

32. See Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1928, p. 6.

the work of the several boards supplementary rather than competitive.

DISTRICT AND LOCAL CHURCH ORGANIZATION

Corresponding to these General Boards of the church whose duties are national in scope, there are similar boards in the various State Districts to take care of the interests of each District with respect to each department of church work. Thus there are District Mission Boards, District Boards of Religious Education, District Ministerial Boards, District Councils of Men's Work, and District Councils of Women's Work. These District Boards serve as mediating units between the National and local church organizations in their respective Districts. In the case of the educational department, no definite District organizations exist as such, but the several Brethren colleges, widely scattered geographically, with their trustees, representing many of the State Districts, may be said to fill this gap to some extent. Likewise the District Conference Program Committee may be considered as a sort of connecting link, since the District Conferences resemble in many respects the National Conference.

With the exception of these last two committees—the Education Board and the Conference Program Committee—the general scheme of the national and District organizations of the church are carried out in the local churches, making the whole plan of church organization uniform and complete. It should be said, however, that only the well organized and strong local churches have a complete organization to correspond to the District and national scheme. But all churches throughout the entire Brotherhood are expected to conform to this general plan of organization, and it is the business of the several General Boards to encourage and supervise the work of perfecting the organization. At the head of each congregation is the elder in charge. Associated with him are the other ministers and elders of the congregation, if there be any—and there usually are. There are also deacons elected by the church to provide for administering the various business affairs connected with the services of the church, and looking after the material interests of the church in general. The

number of deacons elected depends somewhat upon the size of the congregations.

The elder in charge, together with the ministers and deacons, constitutes the Board of officials for the local church. In some churches the Sunday-school superintendent is also considered a member of the board of officials. The Pastoral Board is usually a committee chosen from this board and the pastor—where there is a pastor—is employed by the Pastoral Committee acting for the church, and by the advice of the church councils at its regular council meetings, where all officials of the local church get their authority. The pastor serves as the spiritual advisor to the church, and is responsible for ordering its services, filling the pulpit, and the general care of the flock.

The Church of the Brethren has passed thru a period of experimentation with its organization. It began with the simplest possible form of congregationalism by common consent and now has become thoroughly specialized and unified in form. Strange as it may seem this latest development toward departmental specialization and unity in organization has a tendency again to induce congregationalism in function. For each local church is encouraged to develop its own organization for the greatest efficiency in its own community, and there is much liberty and latitude in carrying out its functions. Unless something goes radically wrong with a local church, it goes its own way unmolested. Of course, what is quite acceptable in the functions of one congregation might be radically wrong if tried in another. There is therefore much variation in the methods of striving for the same thing.

The accompanying organization charts on the next page will give a graphic conception of the system of organization here described.

GOVERNMENT

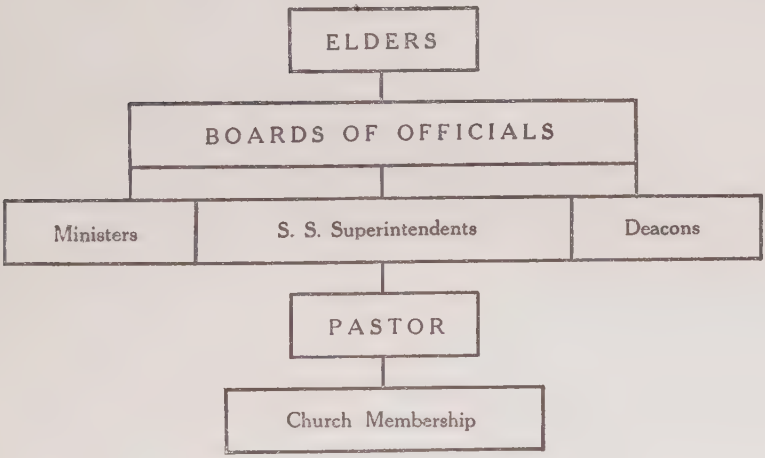
From the foregoing description of the organization of the Church of the Brethren it will be seen that her government is fundamentally democratic thruout, since the authority of the church is vested in its membership. It is also republican in the

sense that the will of the church is expressed thru representatives chosen by the membership. It is at the same time congregational in matters pertaining to the local churches, but general in all matters concerning the church at large.[33]

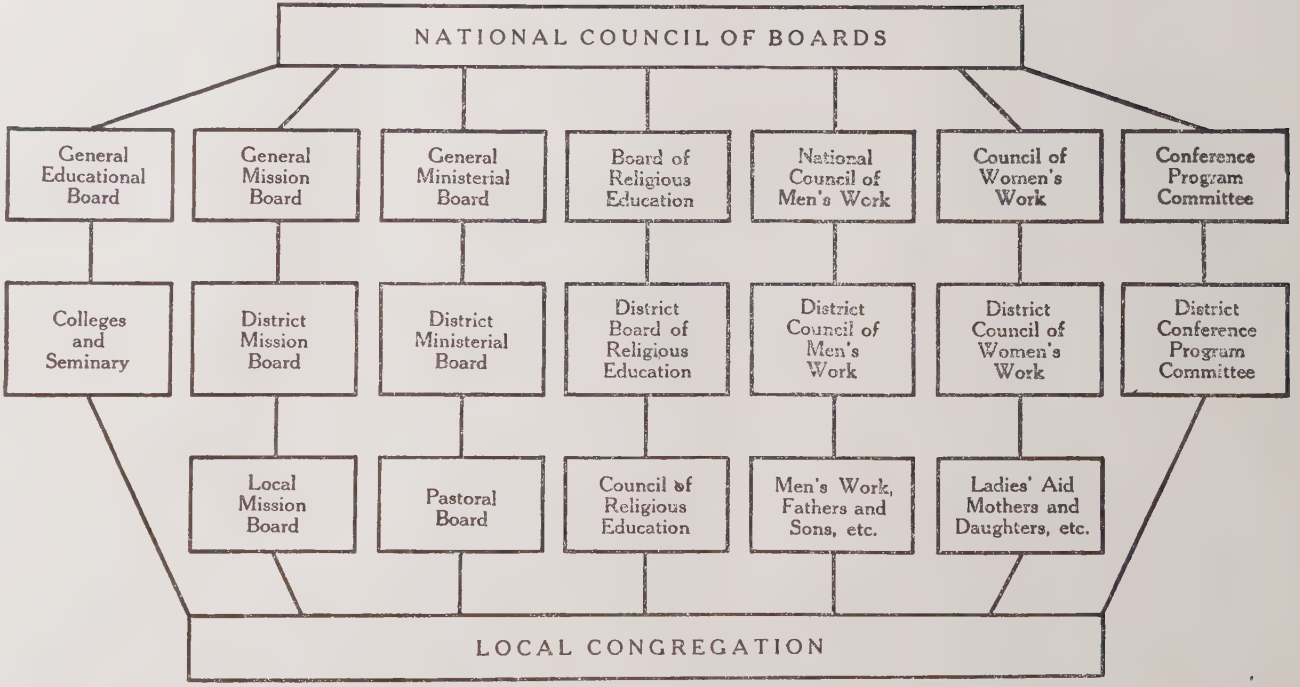
The church gets its authority for doctrines and principles directly from its own interpretation of the New Testament upon which all of its functions and order are conditioned.

33. See I. D. Parker, Church Polity, in Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 161.

ORGANIZATION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH



GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN



CHAPTER VII

BRETHREN PUBLICATIONS

The Brethren's ventures in publication present a formidable army of experiments, successes, failures, eliminations, divisions, consolidations, and progressive adaptation.

THE GOSPEL VISITOR

From the time when the flourishing press of Christopher Sower was destroyed by the soldiers of the Revolution in 1776 until Eld. Henry Kurtz published his monthly called the *Gospel Visitor,* in 1851, at Poland, Ohio,[1] there was no printing done by the Brethren people themselves. Queries immediately began to flow into Annual Conference when Eld. Kurtz began to circulate the *Gospel Visitor.* Annual Meeting, 1851, article 8.

"What is the opinion of the yearly meeting with regard to having a paper published under the title 'The Monthly Gospel Visitor'? Considered at the council that we will not forbid Brother Kurtz to go on with the paper for one year; and that all the Brethren of the church will impartially examine the 'Gospel Visitor,' and if found wrong or injurious, let them send in their objections at the next Annual Meeting."[2]

Annual Meeting, 1852, article 4.

"In regard to the continuation of the 'Gospel Visitor.'

"It was considered, that inasmuch as there is a diversity of opinion upon the subject—some in favor, and others opposed—we cannot forbid its publication at this time, and hope those brethren opposed to it will exercise forbearance, and let it stand or fall on its own merits."[3]

Annual Meeting, 1853, article 3.

"In regard to the fourth query of last year's minutes, concerning the 'Gospel Visitor.' Inasmuch as the 'Visitor' is a private undertaking of

1. See H. R. Holsinger, History of the Tunkers, p. 470.
2. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 124.
3. Op. cit., p. 129.

its editor, we unanimously conclude that this meeting should not any further interfere with it."

Now that the way was officially opened for this new enterprise, it was almost assured some degree of success. The critics of this experiment, however, could not suppress restless suspicions of the influence of religious progress on church doctrine, especially since it required considerable education to publish a paper. But the way was now open.

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY COMPANION

Thirteen years after the *Gospel Visitor* was started, H. R. Holsinger, who had served as an apprentice to Henry Kurtz, began to publish a weekly paper which he called the *Christian Family Companion,* which he published in Tyrone, Pennsylvania. It was thru the *Companion* that Holsinger first began his circulation of progressive ideas. The critics of these papers must have said " just as we expected." Holsinger's progressive ideas were as heresies to the Brethren and eventually led to his expulsion from the church as previously explained.

THE PILGRIM

In 1870, a conservative weekly, the *Pilgrim* was begun, by H. B. and J. B. Brumbaugh, at James Creek, Pennsylvania.[4]

THE PIOUS YOUTH

In that same year H. R. Holsinger began a weekly paper for the young people of the church, which he called the *Pious Youth.* This was the first publication in the church intended primarily for the young people.

THE VINDICATOR

These first publications aroused the suspicion of some of the more conservative Brethren, and in 1870, the *Vindicator* was started by Eld. Samuel Kinsey, at Dayton, Ohio, for the purpose

4. H. B. Brumbaugh, Church Publications, Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 347.
5. Op. cit., p. 348.

of counteracting the progressive voice of other publications. It later became the official organ of the Old Order Brethren after they separated from the mother church in 1881.[6]

THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN

In 1873, Eld. James Quinter purchased the *Christian Family Companion* from Holsinger, and Kurtz' interest in the *Gospel Visitor,* and published them under the joint title, the *Christian Family Companion* and *Gospel Visitor,* for two years. The name of this publication was then changed to the *Primitive Christian,* and so continued until its consolidation, published as the *Primitive Christian* and *Pilgrim* at Huntingdon, Pa.[7]

THE BRETHREN'S MESSENGER

In that same year J. T. Myers of Germantown, Pennsylvania, began to publish a monthly paper, called the *Brethren's Messenger.* It was part English and part German, intended to be of special interest to the German people, but without much success. After a few months, the *Messenger* office was moved to Lanark, Illinois, and the English and German sections divided. A weekly in English called the *Brethren at Work* and a German monthly, *Der Brüderbote,* were edited and published by J. H. Moore, J. T. Myers, and M. M. Eshelman, and others. *Der Brüderbote* was soon discontinued, and it marked the passing of Brethren publications in the German language.[8]

THE PROGRESSIVE CHRISTIAN

In 1878 the *Progressive Christian,* a weekly publication, was started by J. W. Beer and H. R. Holsinger, at Berlin, Pa., for the purpose of advocating progressive measures in the church. Due to much sentiment aroused against Holsinger because of his former writings in the *Christian Family Companion,* this new venture did not get an enthusiastic reception by the Brethren. Holsinger sold out his interest to Beer, who discontinued the publications, in 1879. The next year it was revived by Howard

6. Ibid.
7. Op. cit., p. 352.
8. Op. cit., p. 351.

Miller in association with Holsinger, who soon became editor and proprietor. After the controversy of 1882 when the Progressive group organized separately as the Brethren Church, this paper became their official publication with the title changed to the *Brethren Evangelist.*[9]

THE BRETHREN'S ADVOCATE

About the *Brethren's Advocate,* first published by D. H. Fahrney in 1879, little is known except that it did not live long.[10] The *Gospel Preacher,* started also in 1879, by S. Z. Sharp and S. H. Bashor, soon changed hands and was absorbed by the *Progressive Christian.*[11]

OUR SUNDAY SCHOOL

S. Z. Sharp started another publication in 1879, *Our Sunday School,* at Ashland, Ohio. It was for the special use of the Sunday-schools. It met with success and a few months later was consolidated with the *Young Disciple,* and was moved to Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. Elder Sharp had previously purchased the *Children at Work,* and after his withdrawal from the editorial staff in 1882, another paper, the *Youth's Advance,* was taken over by the *Young Disciple.* It now represented the consolidation of all the papers of the church published for the young people.[12]

THE BRETHREN'S QUARTERLY

To S. Z. Sharp[13] is also attributed the introduction of the *Brethren's Quarterly,* in 1879. This publication is a Sunday-school quarterly and is still being published by the Brethren

9. See H. R. Holsinger, History of the Tunkers, p. 544.
10. Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 353, 354.
11. Ibid.
12. Op. cit., p. 355.
13. S. Z. Sharp, B. E., M. E., A. M., LL. D., D. D., was one of the most influential men in promoting education in the Church of the Brethren. Word of the death of this faithful veteran of the church has just come to the writer while this chapter is being written. He was 96 years old and his death followed an accident in which an automobile struck his horse and buggy, while he was driving near his home at Fruita, Colo.

Publishing House. At the present time it is edited by E. G. Hoff.[14]

THE DEACON

A monthly paper called the *Deacon,* was started by P. H. Beaver, of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania—date probably 1880—intended chiefly "to be an exponent of apostolic church government and for the arresting and defeating of the gradual and persistent usurpation of power by aspiring elders."[15] This radical venture did not meet with success, and after two years was discontinued.

THE GOSPEL MESSENGER

In 1883, the *Primitive Christian* and the *Brethren at Work* were consolidated into a new weekly publication known as the *Gospel Messenger,* which has continued to the present time as the principal Brethren publication. It was first published at Mount Morris, Illinois, but later moved to Elgin, Illinois, where it is now published. The following editorial appeared in the first number of the *Messenger*:

"As the course pursued by the two papers, now consolidated, for the last year, was so nearly alike, but little change need be expected for the future. The true journalist must be neither bought nor sold, frowned upon nor flattered, from pursuing the course that his own judgment dictates to him as being right. Policy is said to be allowable for the politician, but for the Christian, never. The man who is willing to sacrifice for the sake of principle always comes out best in the end. Upon this line we have started and upon this line, by the grace of God, we expect to fight it out. But while we stand fast in our own convictions, we, at the same time, feel it our duty to exercise due deference towards those who concientiously differ from us. In doing this it frequently necessitates to submit our judgment to respect the opinions of others who may be equally conscientious of being right. This is the principle which enables us to prefer one another, and at the same time, continue to labor with an eye single to the glory of God."[16]

14. See Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren, 1931, p. 3.
15. Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 355.
16. Op. cit., p. 357.

Other Brethren publications were gradually discontinued or absorbed until the *Messenger* has come to be the only official church paper for the entire Brotherhood. For the first fourteen years it was owned and published by a few individuals. But in 1897, at the recommendation of Annual Conference, by gifts of owners and other funds raised, title of the publishing house was transferred to the church,[17] and placed under the direction of the General Mission Board whose members are the directors of the Brethren Publishing House. The editor, assistant editor, and business manager (who is also treasurer) are hired by the directors. All other employees of the publishing house are hired by the business manager.

THE MISSIONARY ADVOCATE

The Sisters' Aid Society of Frederick, Maryland, began the publication of the *Missionary Advocate* in 1897, to arouse interest among the women of the church along lines of missionary work. Since this effort tended to infringe upon the work of the General Mission Board it was discouraged by Annual Conference, and discontinued after one year of circulation.[18]

THE LANDMARK

A weekly, called the *Landmark,* began in Warrensburg, Missouri, in 1899, with Howard Miller and John E. Mohler as editors. Its purpose was "to retard the growing tendency toward concentration of power in the church, and the worldward drift of the church in manners and methods." But the church now having its own publishing house, desired to guard its interests and prevent competition as follows:

"Whereupon, Annual Meeting of 1898, Article 7, has decided that the Brethren shall publish no papers that shall come in competition with the publications duly authorized by Annual Conference, or publish anything in opposition to the interests and principles of the Brethren Church; and whereas 'The Landmark' violates these decisions, therefore, be it resolved by this Annual Meeting that its publication shall be discontinued."

17. Otho Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, p. 152.
18. Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 357.

This decision discourages any further attempts of members to begin publications for church patronage.

THE INGLENOOK

A weekly publication called the *Inglenook* was issued by the Brethren Publishing House, from 1901 to 1913. It is probable that a little paper called the *Pilot,* which was started in 1898, was the predecessor to the *Inglenook,* since the first volume of the latter which is filed at the publishing house is Vol. III.[20]

Howard Miller was the first editor. He was succeeded in 1904 by E. M. Cobb, who was followed about 1908 by H. M. Barwick, after whom Blanche Lentz was editor for a while, and finally S. C. Miller was editor from 1911 to 1913, after which time the *Inglenook* was discontinued. Altho this magazine was rather widely circulated among the Brethren,. their patronage was insufficient to sustain a literary magazine such as the *Inglenook* was meant to be.

THE MISSIONARY VISITOR

In 1902 the General Mission Board began the publication of the *Missionary Visitor,* a monthly magazine, through the Brethren Publishing House, as the official organ for the promotion of missionary interests in the church.[19] It continued until January, 1931, when it was officially combined with the *Gospel Messenger,* which now devotes some space to the missionary interests of the church.

There should be added to this list of periodical literature the various publications for use in the Sunday-schools edited by the Board of Religious Education, such as the *Teachers' Monthly, Our Young People, Our Children, Our Boys and Girls,* and the various series of lesson materials for all grades and departments. These Sunday-school materials have an aggregate circulation of approximately 180,000.[21] All are published by the Brethren Publishing House.

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19. E. S. Moyer, Missions in the Church of the Brethren, p. 284.
20. The writer is indebted to Eld. J. E. Miller, Literary Editor of the Brethren Publishing House, for the facts concerning the Inglenook.
21. See the "Factual and Interpretative Report of the Board of Religious Education," (1931).

The publishing house also publishes a "Yearbook," giving a statistical and factual summary of the church and its organizations. This Yearbook carries a complete list of the organized churches of the entire Brotherhood, with names and addresses of pastors and elders in charge. It also carries a complete list of all the ministers of the church with their addresses.

In addition the publishing house publishes all Minutes of Annual Conference and distributes them to all the Districts, for distribution in the churches.

BOOKS

The Brethren have never been prolific writers of books, altho a number of books and pamphlets, mainly of historical and doctrinal nature have come from the Brethren Publishing House through the years. The writer is able to find record of about forty books printed for various writers by the Church of the Brethren Publishing House. It is unlikely however that books have been as potent in determining cultural trends as have magazines and papers from the church press.

GISH FUND BOOKS

Through a beneficent gift in 1897 of Mrs. Barbara Gish, widow of Eld. James R. Gish, quite a number of books of a religious nature are supplied to the ministers of the church at very little cost to them. The Gish Fund was put in the hands of the General Mission Board and a committee appointed to administer it. The first book distributed among the ministers of the church under this fund was "Trine Immersion," by Eld. James Quinter. A set of rules were drawn up to govern the use of the Gish Fund as follows:

Section 1. Name.—The name of this fund shall be the Gish Publishing Fund.

Section 2. Fund.—This fund shall consist of the estate of James R. and Barbara Gish, estimated value, $50,000; with any other funds that may hereafter be added to it.

Section 3. Purpose.—The purpose of this fund shall be to supply the ministers of the German Baptist Brethren Church with such books and

other printed matter as may be helpful to them in advancing and maintaining the truth.

Section 4. Supervision.—The General Missionary and Tract Committee shall appoint a committee of three, so arranged in term of office that the time of one member expires each year, whose duty it shall be

(a) To examine and pass upon publications issued and distributed by this fund.

(b) To arrange with the Publication Department for publication and distribution of publications selected.

Section 5. Surplus.—Any surplus on hand at the end of the fiscal year of the General Missionary and Tract Committee shall, after proper allowance has been made for selected books not yet published, be turned over to the fund for superannuated and disabled ministers and missionaries; but should it not be needed in said fund, then it shall be given to the World-wide Mission Fund.

Section 6. Terms.—The publications shall be distributed free or at greatly reduced rates, at no time the price asked being more than the cost of publication, including the expense for delivery.

Section 7. Report.—The General Missionary and Tract Committee shall cause to be published an annual report of the fund, including the list of books published and the number of copies distributed each year.[22]

To Elder J. H. Moore, who for more than thirty years was editor of the *Gospel Messenger,* belongs the credit of suggesting this ingenious scheme of turning a generous gift into productive service for the church. He is responsible for suggesting to Mrs. Gish the possibility of such a plan to aid the ministers.

Thru the wisdom of the committees chosen to select books to be distributed through this fund a great many good books have gone into the hands of Brethren ministers in recent years. Dr. Otho Winger, who for some years has been a member of the General Mission Board, has said that "in twenty years there have been more than eighty thousand copies of sixty different books distributed under the provisions of this fund."[23] Selections are being made in recent years from among the best books

22. Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, pp. 378, 379.
23. Otho Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, p. 154.

in religious literature regardless of the denominational affiliation of the authors. It will readily be seen that this policy of providing material for ministers' libraries has unique cultural possibilities.

This resumé of the publications of the Brethren shows a marked tendency in the early nineteenth century to suppress the circulation of literature among them which would in any way open discussions on matters of doctrinal practices. They evidently feared that progressive tendencies would readily gain hold, and their suspicions were fulfilled.

It is impossible to measure the influence of literature upon the religious culture, but it is safe to assume that the marked tendency to introduce new weekly and monthly religious papers and magazines among the Brethren, from 1850 to 1880, had a tremendous influence toward breeding Brethren culture and causing the Brethren to test the validity of their own doctrines and practices. The editors of the various publications evidently were reading publications of other church bodies and borrowing ideas from them with which to challenge the minds of the Brethren.

It is significant to note that immediately following this period of literary upheaval, the Progressive-Conservative controversy ensued. The church press had no little part in waging that controversy. Particularly was that true of the *Progressive Christian,* edited by H. R. Holsinger, the leader of the Progressive element, and the *Vindicator,* the tool of the Conservatives. Since that time the only essential difference would seem to be that now the press is officially operated by the church and its transforming power, while held in check to some extent, is nevertheless a potent force for cultural change because its voice is official. It is interesting to note that during recent years there has been a marked change in the type of publicity and advertising which has gone out through the Brethren press.

In 1899, the Annual Conference recommended "that the advertisements in the *Gospel Messenger* be limited to books and papers of moral and religious character, and to such other

notices as shall be necessary in carrying forward the interest of the church."[24]

It would have been considered rank heresy in those days for any publication of the church to advertise books of a secular nature, and particularly of a popular scientific nature. But the *Gospel Messenger* of October 10, 1931, carried an advertisement for the Brethren Publishing House, of the following books, under the caption, "Some Best $1 Sellers":

Mother India, by Katherine Mayo.
The most talked of book about India.

Abraham Lincoln, by Carl Sandburg.
Sometimes called the greatest of all Lincoln biographies.

On the Bottom, by Commander Edward Ellsberg.
The thrilling story of ocean diving.

Keeping Up With Science, by E. E. Slosson.
The latest discoveries of science and what they mean to you. 29 illustrations.

Microbe Hunters, by Paul De Gruif.
The story of man's fight against disease.

Modern Wonder Workers, by Waldemar Kæmpffert.
A popular history of American invention. 319 illustrations.

The Best Loved Poems of James Whitcomb Riley.
Based on a selection made by Riley himself.

The Best Loved Home Ballads of James Whitcomb Riley.
Another selection from America's favorite poet.

Skyward, by Admiral Richard Byrd.
Byrd's own story of his life and flights.

Mrs. Eddy, by Edwin Frandem Dakin.
This book could not be suppressed.

Swords and Roses, by Joseph Hergesheimer.
The glamour and romance of life in the Old South.

Genius and Character, by Emil Ludwig.
From Leonardo to Lenin. 19 brilliant sketches of the world's great men.

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24. Revised Minutes, 1922, pp. 125, 126.

Man Hunting in the Jungle, by Commander G. M. Dyott.
Pursuing the trail of Colonel Fawcett in the heat of the Amazon wilds. Illustrated.

Life of Christ, by Giovanni Papini.
The impassioned masterpiece that has swept the land.

Queen Victoria, by Lytton Strachey.
The book that made the writing of biography a new art.

This list of books offered for sale by the Brethren Publishing House is in itself evidence that the culture patterns of the Brethren have undergone remarkable liberalization, and that the church press is a very significant factor in bringing about the change.

CHAPTER VIII

DOCTRINAL MODES AND PRACTICES

ATTITUDE TOWARD CREED

The Church of the Brethren is a church without a creed. There is no written document formally approved by the church to which its communicants can refer as containing their articles of faith. Alexander Mack found authority for his religious convictions in the New Testament and commended it as the infallible guide for all believers. The experiences of Mack and his followers with church creed had been extremely unhappy. To them creed symbolized persecution, dogma, and distress. The creeds they knew were to be despised for the fruits they bore. It is not strange, therefore, that in introducing a new faith Mack purposely endeavored to avoid any necessity for writing a creed to sustain it. The Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches of Germany were his reasons for opposing creed.

The Confession of Faith of Christopher Hochmann, a Pietist, and an intimate friend of Alexander Mack, as explained earlier in this treatise,[1] probably had great influence in crystallizing the beliefs of Mack and his group of Separatists. It at least gave them something tangible to which they could turn as a basis for their faith. It had the effect too, of producing some uniformity and consistency in their beliefs. Separatists as they were, from the organized churches, in rebellion against the lifeless formalism and militant dogmatism of orthodoxy, there was no ecclesiastical refuge and no published principles of faith to which they could cling. They had chosen the open road in search for real religion and everything they did was heresy in the eyes of the church. Hence for three reasons they did not write a creed in the beginning: (1) Their principles of faith were not yet clearly defined; (2) To reduce them to writing would have invited per-

1. See pp. 43-44.

secuting attacks for heresies; (3) the danger of reversion to dogmatism as in the state churches, was sufficient reason for fearing a written creed.

Hochmann's Confession of Faith exacted from him by Count zur Lippe-Detmold, as the price of liberty, could be followed by the Brethren at Schwarzenau as a tangible guide in crystallizing their principles of religious culture, and yet not be taken as their official creed because Hochmann was not a member of their group. His influence, however, as a powerful preacher of New Testament doctrine was undoubtedly considerable, and it is highly probable that Mack used his Confession of Faith as a sort of handbook of beliefs and ordinances for the church at Schwarzenau.[2] Christopher Sower printed Hochmann's Confession of Faith in 1743, at Germantown, Pennsylvania, for the benefit of the Brethren after they had established their church in America. It was printed in German. A translation of this historic document from the Sower edition is given in full below:

HOCHMANN'S CONFESSION OF FAITH (1702)[3]

"After it had been announced to me last night that His Excellency had acceded to my dismissal, respectfully requested, if I would beforehand make a short confession of my belief, I have herewith given a short outline of this, as follows:

"1. I believe in an eternal, sole, almighty, omnipresent God, as he has revealed himself in the Old Testament as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but in the New Book as the Father, Son and Ghost (Matthew 28, v. 19), and I do not consider it necessary in my soul to dispute or criticise much about it; but I consider it better to submit one's self humbly to this eternal Godly being in the Father, Son and Ghost and to experience his inner working, just as the Father reveals the Son inwardly and the Son again the Father, and this by the powerful working of the Holy Ghost, without which nothing can be known in Godly things and this too is alone the eternal life, that one should rightly acknowledge this one God, as Christ speaks (John 17:3); and that I may explain myself in few words about this; I profess with mouth and the heart the well known old Ausselic Creed, 'Credo in Deum,' etc.

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2. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 72-83.
3. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 83-88. Also Julius F. Sasche, German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, III, 81-84.

"2. Concerning baptism, I believe that Christ instituted it only for the grown up and not for the little children, because one cannot find an iota of an express command about it in the whole holy Scripture; for arguments and good opinions cannot be sufficient (hung together) on these points, but there must be express commands, expressed by God, or Christ, as there is an express command about the circumcision of the Israelite children.

"3. Concerning the Lord's Supper, I believe that it is instituted for the chosen disciples of Christ, who by the renunciation of all worldly things, follow Christ Jesus in deed and truth; and that the covenant of God will be much reviled and his anger inflamed over the whole community, if the Godless children of the world are admitted to the love feast, as, unfortunately! is done at the present time.

"4. Concerning perfection (the full coming of the Spirit), I believe that although I have been conceived and born in sinful seed, yet that I may be sanctified through Jesus Christ, not only justly but perfectly, so that no more sin may remain in me, when I shall have come to complete manhood in Christ. But I do not yet boast of having attained perfection, but I acknowledge with Paul that I am striving to attain it with all earnestness and zeal and am consecrating myself to God and the Lamb to his complete service; but that it is possible for one to become perfect is to be proved from the Holy Scripture on all pages: but this time I will only cite one very clear proverb (Heb. 7:25), in the version of Piscator. He can therefore also make those perfectly blessed, who come to God through him, who is ever living to intercede for them. It is surely not enough, that a great redemption should be done for me through Christ, but this redemption from sin, death, devil and hell must be effected within the soul by the Son of the living God and by his loving and faithful mediatorship, so that not only that which is prophetic, high-priestly, but also that which is kingly must distinguish itself in the soul even to the attainment of the perfect likeness of God and Christ and thus take a spiritual form within us, and if this does not take place actively in the soul through Christ in life-time one cannot attain to the contemplation of God, for without this sanctification no one will see God; for whoever hopes to see God must purify himself, as he too, is pure (1 John 3:3).

"5. Concerning the sacrament of the Holy Ghost I believe that Christ alone, who is the head of the church, can appoint teachers and preachers and give them the qualification for it. And no being but only Christ, risen above all heavens and fulfilling everything, has appointed

some apostles, some however prophets, some evangelists, some pastors (flock-keepers) and teachers, so that the saints may be fitted for the work of the ministry. Ephesians 4:10, 11; Acts 20:28 state expressly that the Holy Ghost (N. B. and not man) had made them bishops to pasture the congregation of God, which he has purchased with his own blood.

"6. Concerning high power, I believe that it is a divine ordinance, to which I willingly submit in all civil matters according to the teachings of Paul (Romans 13:1, 7). On the other hand, however, with all true evangelical (believers) I accord no power to those who struggle against God's Word and my conscience or the freedom of Christ: for it is said: We ought to obey God, etc. (Acts 5:29), and if anything should be charged against God and my conscience I should rather suffer unjust force than act contrary to this and I pray that God may not put it to the account of those magistrates, but may convert them; but I further declare that in reference to the "essentia Magistratus Politici" (essential political powers) that it is not a Christ; for the Turk at Constantinople and the Pope at Rome are also true magistrates in the realm of nature, but they are not Christians for this reason; for where a magistracy shall receive the venerable predicate Christian from me, I must feel in it that it has the Spirit of Christ, or else I say with Saint Paul (Romans 8:9), Whoever has not the Spirit of Christ is not his and therefore not a Christian power; but I consider and regard them as heathen powers, who however will soon have reached their time, for I have been infallibly convinced from God's Word that the glorious Christ sitting at the Father's right hand will soon break in and will thrust all the heathen powers from their seat and according to the prophecy of Holy Mary will raise the lowly, for the sceptre of Christ will destroy and break to pieces all other animal kingdoms (Dan. 2:44). Indeed the Lamb will conquer the beast and its horns, as is stated distinctly (Apoc. 17:14). These will quarrel with the Lamb and the Lamb will conquer them; for it is the Lord of all lords and the King of all kings and with it the called and chosen and the believers; and now because the Kingdom of Christ is so near at hand, I confess that I as a spiritual statistician have learned from God's Word to reflect more upon the rising sun of justice than upon the high powers of the world soon to depart; for that will last into the eternity of eternities, but these will soon have reached their limit (periodum), by the great impending judgments of God.

"7. Finally, as concerns the restoration (redemption) of damned men I do not see how this is the place to carry it out, since it demands a cir-

cumstantial deduction, if it is to be understood distinctly and clearly: I will only here add very briefly that as in Adam all men have fallen, so also must all men be born again, through the other Adam Jesus Christ; if this were not so, it would necessarily follow that Christ were not powerful enough to restore the human race which was lost through Adam and in this connection the chapter of the Epistle to the Romans can be read and from this may be seen how the restoration in the mediatorship of Christ has been much stronger and more mighty than the fall of sin in Adam. 1 Cor. 15:22 is stated explicitly: For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But, as has been mentioned, this matter (materia) can not possibly be carried out in accordance with its dignity, but it demands a word-of-mouth deliverance, if all the objections and doubts occurring herewith are to be explained from the Word of God.

"And since these are the most important points, which at the present day are questions of controversy, I wished to draw them up in short form herewith and have to hand them over to a high authority of the country with the added hearty wish that God the Almighty may light them up with His light; and since I might have no opportunity to appear before the high authorities of this land: I therefore herewith give my due, humble thanks to God the Almighty and then to my most gracious master for everything good that I have enjoyed during my stay here. May God who is rich in mercy reward everything good done me, in time and eternity; and may He soon allow the earnest pleadings and prayers for the master of this house, for his wife, and the whole house to be fulfilled, so that every curse may be turned and that on the other hand the spiritual blessing of God may be revealed therein. And although I may not be present any more in this land or house, henceforth, I shall not leave off continuing my heartfelt prayers to God the Father of the spirits of all flesh for the soul of the most loved Frederick Adolph, and as long as I live I remain the most humble intercessor for the whole house of the Count. E. C. H. v H.

"In the Castle Detmold
in the month of November, 1702."

While yet in Germany Alexander Mack dared to write out a careful treatise on his conception of the New Testament teachings concerning the Christian life. He cast this treatise in the form of a conversation between a father and son in questions and answers. It appeared under the title, *Kruze and einfältige*

Vorstellung der aüssern, aber doch heiligen Rechte und Ordnungen des Hauses Gottes," [4] (A Short and Plain View of the Outward yet Sacred Rites and Ordinances of the House of God). This was accompanied by Mack's Answers to Gruber's thirty-nine ground-searching questions, proposed to the "New Baptists" at Wittgenstein. The tone and spirit of Mack's book is essentially the same as Hochmann's Confession, tho much more lengthy and detailed.

These documents cannot be considered as doctrinal creeds, but they embodied the principles of faith of the early Brethren and are still considered the foundation for the doctrines and beliefs which have taken form among this people.

Efforts have been made from time to time to induce Annual Conference to authorize a printed statement of the doctrines of the church, but the Brethren have always been reluctant to reduce their doctrines to writing. This is no doubt partly due to the early tradition already explained, and perhaps partly to the reasons offered to Benjamin Franklin by Michael Wohlfahrt, an active leader of the Ephrata Sabbatarian Dunkers, when Franklin suggested to him that "it might be well to publish the articles of their belief and the rules of their discipline." [5] Wohlfahrt said it had been proposed among them, but not agreed to, for the following reasons:

"When we were first drawn together as a society, it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which were esteemed truths, were errors, and that others which we had esteemed errors were real truths. From time to time he has been pleased to afford us further light, and our principles have been improving and our errors diminishing. Now we are not sure that we have arrived at the end of this progression and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge, and we fear that if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves, as if bound and confined by it, and per-

4. Henry Kurtz, Brethren Encyclopedia (1860).
Elder Kurtz gives a full text of this document and the answers to Gruber's questions both in German and English, in parallel columns. It consists of 148 pages of rather fine print.

5. From Franklin's Autobiography, quoted in Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 527.

haps be unwilling to receive further improvement, and our successors still more so, as concerning what their elders and founders had done to be something sacred—never to be departed from." [6]

Franklin then replied:

"This modesty in a sect is perhaps a single instance in the history of mankind. Every other sect, supposing itself in possession of all truth and that those who differ are so far in the wrong, like a man traveling in foggy weather, those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapped up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side, but near him all appears clear, though in truth he is as much in the fog as any of them." [7]

No doubt this theological "fog" as Franklin chose to call it, has been a pertinent cause of delay of the Church of the Brethren in reducing her doctrines to writing.

The absence of creed has its cultural significance. A group of people joined in common purpose, soon feel the need of some clearly defined principles and objectives. Particularly is this true of religious groups, where beliefs matter. When once removed from the social influences which gave it birth a religious sect soon changes its tactics from defensive to progressive procedure and the group culture is likewise subjected to change. Without creed in its early stages a religious sect is likely to disintegrate into smaller culture groups or attach itself to some similar group if environmental circumstances permit. Both of

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Elder J. H. Moore, in an article published in the Gospel Messenger, May 2, 1931, page 11, asserts strongly that Wohlfahrt was not representing the Brethren in his statement to Franklin for he was not a member of the Church of the Brethren, but a Sabbatarian.

In respect to absence of creed, however, the Ephrata Society retained the practice of the Brethren among whom it originated. It seems highly probable to the writer that the conversation between Wohlfahrt and Franklin referred to the whole group of Brethren and their kind who traced their origin to Alexander Mack at Schwarzenau. In introducing this incident in his Autobiography Franklin wrote, "Those embarrassments that the Quakers suffered from having established and published it as one of their principles that no kind of war was lawful and which, being once published they could not afterward, however they might change their minds, easily get rid of, reminds me of what I think, a more prudent conduct in another sect among us, that of the Dunkers."

6. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 527, 528.
7. Ibid., p. 528.

these tendencies were prevalent in the early history of the Brethren. It was a comparatively easy matter for a strong leader of an isolated congregation to set up his own code of doctrine to govern his local group, as in the case of Conrad Beissel. On the other hand modes of dress and attitude toward civil authority were materially conditioned in certain localities, by the Quakers and Mennonites among whom the Brethren lived.

Young churches and young church members must necessarily flounder somewhat in the effort to observe doctrines which the church body itself has never clearly defined. But thru the medium of social heritage a remarkable purity of doctrinal modes has been preserved among the Brethren. Tradition has been a mighty fortress among them, and much emphasis has been placed on the "faith of our fathers." Hence what they have lacked in articles of creed, they have counterbalanced in traditional fidelity. The wonder is, that thru the years of rapid frontier expansion in the church, greater variation did not occur in local group culture by natural geographic isolation of many congregations without any definite patterns to work by. Rural life, however, is conducive to conservatism and the Brethren have always been a rural people for the most part. Then, too, their ethnic background partly accounts for their tendency to run consistently true to form without much radical variation. Hocker speaks of them as "dominated by the Teutonic conservatism that is slow to accept innovations. Almost imperceptible, therefore, has been the relaxation of rigorous, ancient forms and regulations and it is only by contrast with the earlier days that the new currents of thought now prevailing become fully apparent." [8]

Now that the whole organization of the church is more unified and close communication between churches is constant—more or less—there is much less reason for having a creed. In fact one might say that written creed is a real hindrance to a progressive church in this modern age, when social and industrial developments demand constant change in religious group culture. It is always a difficult matter to adjust church creeds to cultural

8. Edward W. Hocker, Plain People, Era, 11: 347, 348, 1903.

changes when once they have taken root and religious loyalties have been established around them. In this respect, then, the Church of the Brethren is fortunate from a cultural standpoint. It has no creedal dogma to be annulled in order to adjust its doctrinal practices to present day problems.

Significant developments have occurred from time to time toward authoritative statement of the doctrines of the church and the interpretation of them, without the church actually committing itself officially to the approval of such.

In 1913, a petition came to the Annual Conference asking that steps be taken "to supply what has been thought by many to be a real need of the church,—a small book for converts, the object being to instruct and indoctrinate these converts in the principles and practice of true religion. . . ."[9] The matter was referred by action of the Conference, to the Sunday School Board "for due consideration." The following year (1914) the Sunday School Board asked "for further instructions as to the book on Doctrine."[10] Conference instructed this board to "recommend at the next Annual Conference a plan for the publication of the book in question."[11] At the Conference in 1916 the Sunday School Board submitted the following report:

I. After investigation, we suggest that the Book on Doctrine contain three sections as follows:

1. Fundamental Doctrine of the Christian Church.

Under this heading should be treated such subjects as, The Triune Godhead, The Bible the Word of God, God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son of God, The Holy Spirit, Sin, The Atonement, The Church, Faith, Repentance, Baptism, Regeneration or The New Birth, Conversion, Redemption, Justification, Sanctification, The Second Coming of Christ, Resurrection, Judgment, and Heaven.

2. Church Ordinances and Distinctive Practices of the Church of the Brethren.

Under this heading should be treated such subjects as, The New Testament, Our Rule of Faith and Practice, Trine Immersion, Feet

9. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1913, p. 4.
10. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1914, p. 5.
11. Ibid.

Washing, The Lord's Supper, The Eucharist or Communion, The Salutation or Holy Kiss, The Anointing, The Prayer Veil, The Simple Life, Christian Adornment, and a chapter on the points of Instruction to Applicants.

3. The Christian Life in Service.

Under this heading should be treated such subjects as Significance of Christian Service, The Surrendered Life, Self-Denial, The Higher Life, Christian Growth, Prayer, Bible Reading and Study, Fasting, Assurance, Guidance, Humility, Witness-Bearing, Christian Giving, Loyalty, Temperance, Peace, Proper Associates and Amusements.

II. We recommend a book about the size of "Training the Sunday School Teacher," adapted to the ages from ten to sixteen. Scripture texts, lists of questions, and constructive and spiritual treatment should be marked features.

III. The Conference shall encourage but not formally approve the book, lest it might in time be accepted as a creed. Therefore we recommend that it be published by one of the regularly organized boards of the church.

This report was adopted by Annual Conference, and the Sunday School Board was authorized to carry out the decision.[12]

Note especially the third point of this decision: that "Conference shall encourage but not formally approve the book, lest it might in time be accepted as a creed."

The book was written and published by the Brethren Publishing House in 1919 under the title, "Studies in Doctrine and Devotion." Each of the three divisions, as indicated in the plan, was written by a different writer, and each division is copyrighted in the name of its author. Obviously this publication was intended for a textbook and not for a creed.

Shortly thereafter the General Educational Board published a pamphlet under the title "The Social Message of Christianity," in which certain doctrines of the church were set forth. A query came to Annual Conference of 1922 asking "whether said tract does state the position of the Church of the Brethren."

12. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting (1922), pp. 152, 153.

Answer of Conference, "This tract has not been authorized, nor is it endorsed by the Church of the Brethren."[13]

Another query came to the Conference of that year asking "whether any church board or committee has the right to publish any doctrinal position as the position of the church, when the church has not put herself on record on the doctrine involved."

Answer of Conference, "No."[14]

That same year a query came asking Conference to "endorse the statement of doctrine made in the Brethren's Card," which contained an outlined statement of doctrines of the church with scriptural references accompanying each. The Conference requested the Tract Examining Committee "to make a careful examination of the card called the "Brethren's Card," looking toward a revision of the same and request all who desire changes to forward the same to the committee."[15]

The committee made a request thru the *Gospel Messenger* for suggestions as to changes. After consideration of all suggestions made, the committee recommended the use of the Brethren's Card as it appears below:

THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN FORMERLY CALLED DUNKERS

1. This body of Christians originated early in the eighteenth century, the church being a natural outgrowth of the Pietistic movement following the Reformation.

2. Firmly accepts and teaches the fundamental evangelical doctrines of the inspiration of the Bible, the personality of the Holy Spirit, the virgin birth, the deity of Christ, the sin-pardoning value of his atonement, his resurrection from the tomb, ascension and personal visible return, and the resurrection, both of the just and unjust (John 5:28, 29; 1 Thess. 4:13-18).

3. Observes the following New Testament rites: Baptism of penitent believers by trine immersion for the remission of sins (Matt. 28:19; Acts 2:38); feet washing (John 13:1-20; 1 Tim. 5:10); love feast (Luke 22:20; John 13:4; 1 Cor. 11:17-34; Jude 12); communion (Matt. 26:26-

13. Minutes of Annual Conference, 1922, p. 154.
14. Ibid., p. 8.
15. Minutes of Annual Conference, 1923, p. 9.

30); the Christian salutation (Rom. 16:16; Acts 20:37); proper appearance in worship (1 Cor. 11:2-16); the anointing for healing in the name of the Lord (James 5:13-18; Mark 6:13); laying on of hands (Acts 8:17; 19:6; 1 Tim. 4:14). These rites are representative of spiritual facts which obtain in the lives of true believers, and as such are essential factors in the development of the Christian life.

4. Emphasizes daily devotion for the individual, and family worship for the home (Eph. 6:18-20; Philpp. 4:8, 9); stewardship of time, talents and money (Matt. 25:14-30); taking care of the fatherless, widows, poor, sick and aged (Acts 6:1-7).

5. Opposes on scriptural grounds: war and the taking of human life (Matt. 5:21-26, 43, 44; Rom. 12:19-21; Isa. 53:7-12); violence in personal and industrial controversy (Matt. 7:12; Rom. 13:8-10); intemperance in all things (Titus 2:2; Gal. 5:19-26; Eph. 5:18); going to law, especially against our Christian brethren (1 Cor. 6:1-9); divorce and remarriage except for the one scriptural reason (Matt. 19:9); every form of oath (Matt. 5:33-37; James 5:12); membership in secret, oath-bound societies (2 Cor. 6:14-18); games of chance and sinful amusements (1 Thess. 5:22; 1 Peter 2:11; Rom. 12:17); extravagant and immodest dress (1 Tim. 2:8-10; 1 Peter 3:1-6).

6. Labors earnestly, in harmony with the Great Commission, for the evangelization of the world, for the conversion of men to Jesus Christ; and for the realization of the life of Jesus Christ in every believer (Matt. 28:18-20; Mark 16:15, 16; 2 Cor. 3:18).

7. Maintains the New Testament as its only creed, in harmony with which the above brief doctrinal statement is made.

The Conference recommitted this card to the Tract Examining Committee.[16]

No further statement from this committee concerning doctrine came to Annual Conference until 1926 when it reported that "a plan was put into operation whereby short doctrinal teachings or extracts from tracts be published in the *Gospel Messenger* from time to time." The report was adopted.[17] The Tract Examining Committee was discontinued the following year.[18]

To the Annual Conference of 1929, came a request for a Com-

16. Minutes of Annual Conference, 1923, p. 9.
17. Ibid., 1926, p. 38.
18. Ibid., 1926, p. 12.

mittee to study the "apparent decline in attitude of matters of faith, doctrine and practice," and the "want of effective instructional material to meet the requirement." The matter was referred to the Board of Religious Education, which reported the following year that "considerable doctrinal instruction must be and is included in the regular courses of study in the Sunday School, the Sunday evening meeting and other instructional meetings of the church." It further expressed the conviction that "there is a need for special texts for use in teaching the doctrinal principles of the church," and that "additional texts will be provided as rapidly as is consistent with the total curriculum development." [19]

At the request of Conference in 1930, the Curriculum Committee of the Board of Religious Education undertook the editing of a book on doctrinal teaching, intended to prepare the young people for membership in the church. The Board reported at the last Annual Conference (1931), that this book would be ready for use by the next Annual Conference (June, 1932). A booklet of thirteen lessons, entitled "Finding the Way," has already been completed for use in the junior classes of the Sunday-schools. This material is intended to become a part of the graded lesson series.

It is clear therefore, that the policy of the church has been to avoid formal commitment to, or endorsement of any statement of its doctrines which might become binding upon the church as its creed. The tendency has been to provide for doctrinal instruction thru the teaching agencies of the church, without any carefully defined limitation as to what that instruction shall include. But major emphasis is placed on the necessity that it shall be based on the teachings of the Bible. This leaves plenty of latitude for Scriptural interpretation as the cultural backgrounds of religion shift.

DOCTRINES

It can be safely assumed from the various expressions of faith among the Brethren, including the several proposed statements

19. Minutes of Annual Conference, 1930, p. 26.

of doctrines by prominent men of the church, that the Church of the Brethren adheres to all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as professed by the Protestant churches generally.

Following is a summary of what seems to be the doctrinal beliefs concerning the general Christian doctrines of the Brethren.[20]

DOCTRINE OF GOD

God is the Creator and Sustainer of the universe; the all-powerful, ever-present, and all-wise Being who reveals Himself to man as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, these three constituting the Divine Trinity. This God is a God of love, whose goodness and mercy extend to all mankind. He is invisible to mortal man, but personal and accessible to all who seek communion with Him.

DOCTRINE OF CHRIST

God sent His Son to dwell in human flesh and reveal Himself, His will and His goodness to mankind. He is co-equal with God as a personal Being and a member of the Holy Trinity. In Christ men find their perfect model of righteousness and thru Him man has access to the Father. The Son of God becoming Son of man established the intimate relationship with God as Father of all Christian believers, since Christ is their Elder Brother. Christ bought reconciliation with God, for the sins of all men, with the sacrifice of his own life. He is thus the Savior of men.

DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The Holy Spirit is a personal member of the Trinity, and bears the attributes of God. It is the Spirit of God which works among men convicting them of their sins, and guiding thots, feelings, and wills of the Christian believers into fuller realization of godliness. The presence of the Holy Spirit is conditioned upon man's willingness to receive it as his companion, comforter and guide.

DOCTRINE OF THE BIBLE

The Bible is the inspired Word of God, and the all-sufficient

20. See Alexander Mack, "A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God," Brethren's Encyclopedia.

source of knowledge concerning Him. The New Testament is accepted as the only true and infallible guide for the Christian, and the ordinances and practices of the church are ordered after its teachings.

DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH

The Church is the organized body of Christian believers, established by Christ for the promotion of God's kingdom, and the Christianity of the world. It is the "body of Christ" and each Christian is a member of that body. In its general sense it includes all members of all churches. In its local sense it signifies a congregation of believers organized to promote the interests of God's kingdom.

DOCTRINE OF MAN

God created man in His own spiritual image and gave him power to choose his own ways of life. He offered man the choicest fruits of His kingdom, but thru his disobedience to the divine Will of God, man brought on himself the condemnation of sin. He is now the special object of God's mercy and love, and thru repentance and regeneration may be restored to God's spiritual kingdom.

DOCTRINE OF SIN

By his human nature man is subject to the violation of the perfect will of God, and transgression of his laws or principles of life is sin. Sin is the universal experience of mankind. Participation in sinful behavior either by thought or conduct leads to spiritual condemnation and self-destruction. God loves the sinner, but hates his sin, and seeks his redemption by revelation of the perfect sinless life thru Christ.

DOCTRINE OF SALVATION

The only release from the condemnation for sin is by reconciliation with God, and spiritual regeneration thru His forgiveness. Man cannot save himself. Salvation is the gift of God

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Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren, Ch. 13. Kurtz, Blough and Ellis, Studies in Doctrine and Devotion, Pt. I. H. C. Early, What the Church Stands For, Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, Ch. 5. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, Ch. 13. Gillin, The Dunkers, Ch. 2.

to those who believe and seek harmony with Him. Man's part in salvation is to put his whole self in proper relation to goodness and reject sin, so that all sins be forgiven him and the God of love will restore him to fellowship in His kingdom.

DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY

Human life is immortal, and the condition of eternal existence is determined by the kind of life an individual lives here on earth. Those who seek to do the will of God and are His faithful servants shall receive His promise fulfilled in eternal reward of blessedness in His kingdom with Him and all the redeemed of earth. Heaven is the spiritual home for all thus favored of God.

Those whose earthly existence does not conform to the will of God, and whose lives hinder the progress of the church which is the embodiment of His kingdom on earth, shall suffer eternally their own ruin and destruction. It is a state of eternal separation from God, which separation means eternal unhappiness known as hell.

In respect to these fundamental religious beliefs just summarized, the Brethren do not differ perceptibly from many peoples of other denominations. The distinctiveness of the Brethren, as has been intimated previously, does not rest on doctrinal beliefs, but rather on the methods and modes of giving expression to them. We would therefore expect to find their chief religious distinctions in their ordinances and ritual.

ORDINANCES AND RITUAL

The Brethren Church has never emphasized formalism in its religious practices. Its practices have been expressive of practical realities in Christian experience rather than elaborate ritual or ceremonial rites. The ordinances of the church, therefore, are for the most part simple and concrete in their application. Religion and its practices among people of the middle classes of society are very likely to be cast in symbols which guarantee individual and practical experience in personal religion.[21] Practical and unpretentious people think more in terms of persons

21. See Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 82.

than forces or things. The Brethren have never been greatly disturbed about theological differentiations. But they have spent a great deal of time in trying to determine the correct ways of performing their religious rites. They have attempted to embody in their religion only those ceremonial performances which are distinctly taught in the New Testament and practiced exactly as taught as nearly as possible, taking literally the words of the Scriptures.

BAPTISM

It was in their form of baptism that the Brethren first attracted attention as "a separate people." When Alexander Mack with his seven followers went down into the River Eder and was baptized by trine immersion and in turn baptized the other seven in the same manner, they were dubbed as Tunkers or "dippers." Mack believed this rite should be administered in an open stream of running water, as Christ was baptized in the Jordan River. Three separate immersions were administered to each applicant, since Jesus gave instructions in His Commission for receiving converts into the church by "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."[22] The immersions were by forward action as symbolic of progressive acts of cleansing. The applicant knelt in the water, and the minister after the acts of immersion, laid his hands upon the applicant's head and offered prayer.

Until recently each candidate for baptism upon entering the water and kneeling, was asked questions calling for his pledge of faith, loyalty, and denunciation of sin. Since 1914, by action of Annual Conference,[23] these questions may be asked the candidate when he is examined and instructed before the baptism.

The form of baptism has not changed thru the years, but as new church houses have been built which provide for conveniences in keeping with cultural trends, baptistries have been built in many of the churches and baptism is being transferred to baptistries in the churches rather than in the open stream. Not until

22. Matt. 28:19.
23. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, p. 134.

1902 was the sanction of Annual Conference placed on "pools in the churches," and then it came at the request of the Washington City church, and the answer of Conference to the request reads:

"When absolutely necessary we consider that a baptistry may be placed in a meeting house, though we always prefer that baptism be performed in a running stream."[24] This will be noted as a bold departure from the original idea of Mack concerning baptism. It may be in large measure the result of culture diffusion from other denominations which had been using baptistries. Then, too, the organization and growth of a number of city churches among the Brethren has been a deciding factor in this transition in mode of baptism from running streams to baptistries in the churches. Baptism is the formal condition of admittance to membership in the Church of the Brethren and few have been received into this church except by trine immersion. There are a few instances in recent years, however, where the more progressive congregations have received members from other denominations who had previously been baptized by immersion.

CONSECRATION OF INFANTS

The Brethren do not practice "infant baptism." In fact the baptism of infants by the state churches of Germany was one of the practices against which Alexander Mack and his group of separatists rebelled most strongly. Mack believed that baptism should be administered only to those who by their own choice should make confession of the Christian faith and seek baptism; and that included only those capable of mature judgment. In Mack's words, "Baptism is commended only to believers and adults, and not at all to children."[25]

In recent years the Brethren have sanctioned a ceremonial service which they call the "consecration of infants." This is a practice which has been borrowed from other religious groups, in modified form, and represents a type of cultural fusion. It was

24. Op. cit., p. 138.
25. Alexander Mack, Rights and Ordinances of the House of God. The Brethren Encyclopedia, p. 26.

practiced first in the city churches and is limited largely to the urban communities where the contacts with other churches is closest.

A query came to Annual Conference in 1930 from the Brooklyn Church in New York asking Conference "to formulate a suitable form of procedure for a consecration service, and that such form of service be made available for the use of elders and pastors, who find it advisable to conduct consecration services."[26] The matter was referred to the General Ministerial Board, which worked out a detailed program of procedure for a consecration service and submitted it to the Conference of 1931, with the following general statement:

"We recommend that churches that hold services for the consecration of children also emphasize the idea of the consecration of parents as well as the consecration of the congregation to the interests of its childhood. These services should be held at regular intervals, perhaps twice each year. We think that Christmas and Mother's Day, or Children's Day, would be appropriate occasions. They should be planned with great care. They should be simple, brief, and beautiful. They can best be held in connection with the regular church service, preferably being substituted for the opening worship program. All the details should be explained to the parents in advance. The service should open with the usual prelude or hymn. As this is concluded, the pastor should come into the church followed by the parents with their children. As they enter, the pastor may read or quote from memory appropriate verses of scripture. He should speak slowly but clearly and tenderly. The pastor's word to the parents should be brief, but with clear intimation of their responsibility. There should follow the declaration by the parents, a brief charge by the pastor, a prayer of consecration, and as the parents file out, or to their seats, there may be an appropriate hymn by the congregation or choir, special music or organ postlude. Soft music could appropriately accompany the entire service. After the music, the minister will enter the pulpit and make an announcement to the congregation like this: 'We have just witnessed the consecration of John Milton, son of Brother and Sister John Doe, and Martha Miriam, daughter of Brother and Sister William Blank. Certificates of consecration will be issued to these parents as a memorial of this service. May God bless these children and make them a blessing!'"

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26. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1931, p. 6.

The recommendations of the Ministerial Board were adopted, including a form of certificate to be used.

It would seem evident that the Brethren, who by tradition have so strongly opposed infant baptism, have sanctioned this practice of infant consecration as a form of compromise with those members who are favorably impressed with the practices of other churches in baptizing infants into their religious groups. It is significant, too, to note that this practice is observed most generally in those congregations which are located in the midst of the great culture currents of society.

LAYING ON OF HANDS

The ordinance of laying on of hands is practiced by the Brethren as an act of invocation of special blessing and spiritual strength. There are three occasions upon which this rite is used: (1) During the ceremony of baptism when the minister offers prayer in behalf of the applicant he lays his hands on the head of the applicant while he is kneeling in the water. (2) In anointing the sick, two elders, after anointing the head of the sick person with oil, place their hands on his head while prayer is offered in behalf of the anointed. (3) Upon the dedication of members of the church to some special office, as the ordination of ministers and deacons, a group of elders—usually two—lay their hands upon the heads of those consecrated as a form of invocation of divine guidance of the Holy Spirit in their appointed services.

This sacred ordinance is preserved as a ceremonial rite from Old and New Testament times as an expression of special need of Divine help.

COMMUNION SERVICE OR LOVE FEAST

From the earliest beginnings the Brethren have held special services for the commemoration of the events which took place at the last supper in the upper room at Jerusalem. They call these occasions the communion service. Three of the major ordinances are observed on these occasions, namely feet washing, the Lord's Supper, and the sacraments.

Brethren used to drive for many miles to attend these meetings

which were all-day sessions, with meals served at the church, and then stay all night in the homes of some of the brethren who lived near by. They were big occasions and attracted much attention of the whole community. Many who were not members of the Church of the Brethren would attend out of curiosity, to observe the peculiar practices of the Brethren. In certain communities these meetings often became occasions of mischief-making for groups of community ruffians and busybodies, so that those who came to worship were disturbed by pranks and boisterous carousing. It was not an uncommon sight to see the Brethren carrying lap robes, buggy whips, lanterns and all loose objects which they brought with them, into the church house, for safe keeping. Only on the grounds of cultural evolution can we account for the passing of these disturbing practices which used to accompany the communion services of thirty years ago. It would be difficult to find a type of religious service which carries an atmosphere of greater sanctity and more impressive spiritual character than that which now prevails at these communion services. Scarcely anyone other than communicants attends and the services are ordered with remarkable spiritual fervor.

In contrast with the old-fashioned all-day meetings the service is now usually held on a weekday afternoon or evening and lasts from one to two hours. In city churches, however, these meetings are often held on Sunday, to enable the city workers to commune without interfering with their daily work. In this respect modern industrial life of the urban communities has made certain cultural adjustments necessary. In like manner the preparation of the meal to commemorate the Lord's supper which is an essential part of this service, has been completely changed by the circumstances of cultural change which surround it. Whereas the deacons and their wives formerly gathered at the church the day before the meeting to cook the beef and prepare a bountiful meal for all who came, the busy worshipers in the modern urban churches must commemorate the Lord's supper with a conventional morsel of cheese and a cracker. The rural churches, however, which still constitute the great majority, are more reluctant to admit any radical change in the communion

service which is so distinctly a Brethren institution. It is still customary among many of them to prepare beef and beef soup and several brethren or several sisters sup together from common bowls, placed at convenient intervals upon the long, narrow tables between the church pews. Many of the church houses are still equipped with benches constructed so that alternate ones may be converted into tables or have narrow tables attached to them.

The communion service opens with a hymn, scripture reading and prayer, and until quite recently it was the general practice to have some elder or minister from a neighboring congregation speak on some appropriate subject to induce self-examination and preparation of heart among the Brethren who sat at the communion tables, and to direct the order of procedure thru the service. It is now becoming a more general practice for a church to conduct its own affairs and local elders or pastors preside at these services as at others. In this respect, as in a good many others, the individual churches are becoming more distinctly congregational in their practices.

Preceding the observance of each of the ordinances of the communion, the minister presiding, reads or asks some other minister present—of whom there are generally several—to read certain passages of scripture which bear on these ordinances.

FEET WASHING

Consistent with their policy of literal interpretation of the scriptures the Brethren have always practiced the ordinance of feet washing in connection with the Lord's supper. Gillin has suggested that this practice originated out of a "feeling of likeness to the primitive Christians,"[27] but that interpretation seems to the writer to be somewhat far-fetched. It follows naturally from the fundamental tenets of the Brethren that the New Testament teachings are to be taken literally, that they should observe Christ's example when "He riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a basin and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was

27. Gillin, The Dunkers, p. 48.

girded."[28] Then he said, "If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye ought also to wash one another's feet."[29]

This teaching the Brethren have preserved as nearly as possible without change. They actually carry out the whole performance, each girding himself with a towel and washing his brother's feet. Water and towels are provided by the deacons and their wives, and basins placed at each table. The men and women sit in separate parts of the church during this service and the performance progresses along each row of communicants, each receiving the rite and in turn washing the feet of the next until all have engaged in it.

In the early days some devout brethren chose not only to wash the feet of one brother but of several. This practice, called the "double mode" of feet washing, seems to have originated in the Ephrata Society. There is record of a visit to Conrad Beissel at Ephrata, by George Adam Martin and John Horn,[30] when Beissel washed the feet of both upon their arrival as an act of love and humility.

The "single mode" had been the practice of the Brethren from their beginning, but thereafter, for more than a hundred years the Brethren engaged in controversy over the mode of feet washing, the double mode taking precedence. In 1877, a petition came to Annual Meeting asking the privilege of practicing either single or double mode of feet washing. The Annual Meeting refused to sanction the single mode, but agreed to tolerate it in churches so long as it did not disturb the peace of the church, or create offense. The single mode again grew in favor among the churches until in 1919 the controversy ended with the decision of Annual Conference:

". . . that the brethren and sisters separately wash and wipe one another's feet, following each other in order, the last one in any group washing the feet of the first in harmony with our present practice as

28. John 13:4, 5.
29. John 13:14.
30. Chronicon Ephratense, pp. 253, 254.
Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, pp. 543, 544.

the best method of observing the teaching of our Lord. (John 13:1-17).[31]

It is evident, therefore, that as the local church groups have grown large and better organized and the entire Brotherhood more unified the order of service in observing the ordinances has become more orderly and uniform. In certain of the city churches the communicants pass from the supper table to adjoining rooms by pairs to participate in ceremony of feet washing there and then return to the tables.

THE LORD'S SUPPER

After the washing of feet, the covers are removed from the tables and all participate in the holy meal together, as a token of Christian fellowship. It was formerly customary to deny the privilege of the Lord's supper and sacraments to any brother or sister who did not abide by all the church's decisions and practices. More recently, by a ruling of Conference in 1923, effort was made to exclude all matters of a personal nature from any connection with the love feast service.

The Brethren practice close communion and only members of the Church of the Brethren are expected to participate. Likewise Brethren are expected to refrain from communing with other religious societies. This however is not observed strictly by some of the younger members.

THE SACRAMENTS

After the Lord's Supper the sacraments of unleavened bread and unfermented wine are administered to each communicant, commemorating the broken body and spilt blood of Christ on the Cross. Then the service is ended with prayer and song.

These love feast occasions are not without their influence in moulding culture patterns among the Brethren. It is safe to assume that they have been in large measure responsible for the spirit of humility and concern for one another which has always characterized the Brethren.

THE HOLY KISS

Until very recent years it was customary among the Brethren

31. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, p. 138.

to salute each other with the "holy kiss" when they met, as a symbol of love. The practice is still observed among some of the older elders of the more conservative congregations. It also is still observed by many of the women of the church. So important was this symbol of fellowship in the earlier days that, when an elder refused to kiss a brother, it bespoke his excommunication from the Brotherhood.[32]

It was formerly a part of the love feast ceremony to pass the "right hand of fellowship" with the holy kiss at a certain stage in the services. This practice was made optional with the churches in 1913 and since then has practically disappeared. It is still practiced rather generally, however, between brethren and brethren, and sisters and sisters just after the rite of feet washing has been observed, between the one serving and the one served.

THE SIMPLE LIFE

The doctrine which has been emphasized most strongly among the Brethren, is the doctrine of "The Simple Life." Their efforts to maintain simplicity in all phases of life, in contrast to showy display so commonly observed, has been the prime factor in distinguishing them socially as a "peculiar people." The doctrine of simplicity has prompted simple honesty and faithful integrity in business; plain and unpretentious dress; and sober restraint from seeking high social positions. "It is held that outward show with its attendant lusts and extravagance is incompatible with the Spirit of Jesus."[33] So sincere were they in protesting against all outward display of self or earthly possessions that they deemed it wrong to have photographs or pictures taken, and began to legislate against it as early as 1849.[34] Minutes of 1858, article 52, reads,

> "Is it right for a brother to go about taking likenesses with a Daguerrean apparatus? Considered that it is not right. Rom. 1:23; Deut. 27:15."

Even now it is frequently difficult to secure the likeness of

32. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 235.
33. H. C. Early, What the Church Stands For, Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 148.
34. See Minutes of 1849, Art. 17.

prominent and important persons of the church of less than half a century ago, because they deemed it idolatrous to have their pictures taken.

Quoting from the Minutes of Annual Meeting of 1846, article 10:

"It is thought highly necessary that the Yearly Meeting instruct and urge it upon all the overseers of the churches to see especially to that matter, and protest strongly against all manner of superfluity and vanity, such as building fine houses, and having paintings, carpetings, and costly furniture, etc., together with the adorning of the body too much after the fashion of the world. We believe that we should deny ourselves, and abstain from these things, especially the laborers in the World, who are called to be ensamples of the flock."

Meetings of 1859, article 24,

"Is it becoming for members of the church of Christ to get the walls of their houses flowered or papered with flowered paper?

"Answer: We exhort all of our dear brethren to humility, for the apostle says (Rom. 12:2), 'Be not conformed to this world,' etc. Humility is one of the prominent principles taught by our dear Redeemer, in precept and example. We ought, therefore, to try and abstain from superfluities."

Frank R. Diffenderfer has described the Brethren as:

". . . temperate, sober, honest, and industrious. For nearly two centuries it has been held that the word of a Taufer is as good as his bond. They pay their obligations promptly and live within their incomes. They live a life which they believe to be in accordance with the teachings of our Savior and in so doing have acquired that high standing for honor, honesty, piety and godliness which has for many generations gained for them the reputation of being among the best citizens of our commonwealth." [35]

This quotation is descriptive of the life and practices of the Brethren at the close of the last century. They still profess the same doctrine of the simple and unpretentious life, but the impact of twentieth century culture in America has unquestionably tended toward leveling out the modes of life which distinguish one religious group from another, or any from all. Their belief in

35. F. R. Diffenderfer, The Taufers—or the German Baptist Brethren (Reprinted from the New Era, Lancaster, Pa., 1899), p. 23.

the gospel of simple living is fundamental, but actually in social competition in the present day social order, simplicity loses its identity in the " milieu " of social adjustment to cultural evolution.

DRESS

The most visible evidence of firm belief in the doctrine of the simple life, among the Brethren, is in regard to dress. Their manner of dress early in their history became their distinctive mark of religious affiliation and at the same time of separation from the world of other men.

There is no evidence that a particular style of dress was adopted by these people at the very beginning of the sect. It may be inferred, from their beliefs in opposition to vain show and out of economy, that their mode of dress bespoke simplicity. But it is highly probable that the form of dress was adopted from their early contact with the Quakers and Mennonites as a sort of mark of distinction for all nonresisting sects.[36] Thus the plain straight-brim hats for men, and bonnets for women became the mode. As nonresistant principles became more pronounced at the outbreak of the Civil War, distinctive dress became more pronounced, and they cherished the modes which marked the dividing line between them and people in public life.[37]

"Full beards were worn by Brethren from the first; no razors touched their faces. This was, perhaps, because men in public life were then all clean shaven. Every one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was clean shaven. There is no evidence, however, that dress was made a test of membership among them until recently."[38]

The accepted style of clothes for men besides plain hats, became coats and vests buttoned all the way to the neck, or rather hooked to the neck, for even buttons were prohibited among the colonial Brethren. Their coat collars were straight, with no lapels, and neckties were worldly luxuries in apparel never to be worn.

Women wore bonnets, the evolution of which is an interesting

36. Op. cit., p. 19.
37. Gillin, The Dunkers, p. 43.
38. Diffenderfer, The Taufers, p. 19.

study in cultural change. Beginning with the deep hood type with flowing cape it gradually changed to the small and more convenient shape until, by the time the custom of head dress merged into common fashion, it was little more than a hat of conservative model. It was the custom for women to wear, under their bonnets a small white "cap" or little bonnet of very thin material, when attending worship services and to remove the bonnet upon entering the church house and wear only the "cap," known also as the "prayer covering." Capes were customary among the women of the church and dresses were of the plainest kind. No ruffles or colorful touches could be worn. Trimmings of white, or lace collars, or "low necks," were considered "worldly," and were not tolerated. Jewelry was out of the question, and gold was a "signal to Satan."

Two opposite phases of the "dress question"—as it later came to be called, as it issued into controversy in later years—are apparent. (1) Distinctive dress, growing out of cultural contact with plain people, and in reacting to current modes of social life gradually grew into a fixed culture pattern among the Brethren. (2) Under stress of changing culture patterns and swayed by the transforming spirit of youth, the pendulum of custom now swings in the opposite direction and the Brethren have practically lost their distinctive modes of dress.

The following incident[39] would tend to bear out the opinion that distinctive garb was not the vogue among the early Brethren:

"On one occasion as the preachers from the country were jogging along on horseback to the Yearly Meeting which was held in Philadelphia, one of the preachers said to Elder Martin Urner, 'As you will no doubt be called upon to preach at this meeting, I want you to preach particularly against the wearing of fine clothes, as the brethren and sisters in Philadelphia are becoming entirely too fashionable in their dress.' Elder Urner made no reply.

"The preacher: 'Did you hear what I said?'

"Elder Urner: 'Yes.'

39. This incident is quoted by Brumbaugh, from I. N. Urner's History of the Coventry Brethren Church, p. 19. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 287.

"The preacher: 'Will you do it?'

"Elder Urner: 'If I am called on to preach I hope I shall have something of more importance than to talk to people about the rags with which they cover themselves.'"

Brumbaugh thinks the meeting referred to was likely the Annual Meeting of 1791.

At any rate a goodly number of the Brethren must have shared the opinion of "the preacher," for a controversy soon developed concerning the dress question, which has continued to the present day.

The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of 1845 bear this record:

"In regard to members conforming too much with the world in fashionable dressing, building and ornamenting houses in the style of those high in the world, Considered that it is a dangerous and alarming evil, and ought not to be among the humble followers of the lowly Jesus." [40]

Thus it seems that in its earliest stages the "dress question" was grouped with other problems of simplicity in manners of living. Gaining momentum, however, the matter of plainness of dress became a vital issue in the church and gained recognition as a separate consideration.

All the legislation in regard to dress cannot be included here, but a few quotations will mark significant phases in the development of the problem.

Minutes of 1847, article 9:

"How is it considered, if a brother or sister should have two suits of clothes, one of them plain, to go to meeting in, and one after the fashion of the world to go to other gatherings in?

"Considered by the brethren present, that it is very unbecoming for members to do so, and that it would be the duty of the teachers faithfully to admonish such brethren and sisters, again and again, if necessary, not to conform to the world in their dress, and habits, as the apostles also have warned us. (See Rom. 12:1, 2; 1 Tim. 2:9; 1 Peter 3:3, 4.)"

Minutes of 1866, article 47:

"Resolved, by this Annual Meeting, That the churches throughout the

40. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1845, art. 6.

Brotherhood enforce plainness of dress, and a plain manner of wearing the hair and beard, upon the preachers and officers of the churches. By plainness of dress, we mean the common order of giving shape to dress, as practiced by the old brethren and sisters generally, and by plainness of hair we mean the hair parted on the top of the head, or all combed back in a plain manner, or combed straight down all around the head, and not having the hair and beard trimmed according the custom of the world.

"Considered, that this Annual Meeting unanimously adopt this resolution, according to Rom. 12:2; 1 Peter 1:14; 1 John 2:15, 16; and that all preachers and officers that follow the fashions of the world in the foregoing particulars violate the order of the Gospel by doing so, and render themselves liable to be brought under the counsel of the church."

Minutes of 1881, article 1:

Inasmuch as Annual Meeting has again and again decided in favor of plainness and uniformity in dress for both brethren and sisters, and recommending to the churches to enforce it, especially upon the ministers, and after all the counsel of Annual Meeting there is a great lack of uniformity in dress on the part of some members, ministers and deacons who travel from place to place, and do not regard the plain uniformity as recommended by Annual Meeting. The question is, is it right according to the Gospel and the order of the church, especially official members, to get a certificate of membership who move from one arm of the church to another, and who do not observe the authorized decisions of Annual Meeting?

"Answer: This Annual Meeting decides that we cannot grant a good certificate to such members, especially the officials."

Minutes of 1886, article 12:

"Inasmuch as necessity required a specification in the order of dress to be worn by the brethren, we therefore petition Annual Meeting through District Meeting to make the time honored custom of wearing the plain cap or kerchief in connection with a plain skirt dress a specification for the order or uniform to be worn by the sisters, as many of them are departing from gospel plainness as interpreted by our fathers and the church, thus destroying that oneness and admitting in its stead the popular fashions of a proud world.

"Answer: We decide that gospel plainness requires our sisters to attire themselves in plainly made garments, free from ornaments, ruffles, and all unnecessary appendages, and that it is the duty of all house-

keepers to see that our sisters are properly instructed concerning the necessity of this gospel plainness, and it is also their duty to see that the order of the church, respecting plainness, is properly carried out in their respective congregations, both upon the part of the brethren as well as the sisters.

In 1911, some of the decisions concerning dress were restated by Annual Conference as follows:

"1. That the brethren wear plain clothing. That the coat with standing collar be worn, especially by ministers and deacons.

"2. That the brethren wear their hair and beard in a plain and sanitary manner. That the mustache alone is forbidden.

"3. That the sisters attire themselves in plainly-made garments, free from ornaments and unnecessary appendages. That plain bonnets and hoods be the headdress, and the hair be worn in a becoming Christian manner.

"4. That the veil be worn in time of prayer and prophesying (1 Cor. 11:1-16, R. V.). The plain cap is regarded as meeting the requirements of scriptural teaching on the subject.

"5. That gold for ornament and jewelry of all kinds, shall not be worn.

"6. That no brother be installed into office as minister or deacon who will not pledge himself to observe and teach the order of dress.

"7. That no brother or sister serve as delegate to District or Annual Meeting, nor be appointed on committees to enforce discipline, who does not observe the order of dress.

"8. That it be the duty of the official body of the church to teach faithfully and intelligently the simple, Christian life in dress; and bishops, who are the shepherds of the churches, are required to teach and to see that the simple life in general is taught and observed in their respective charges."

In 1914, a "Dress Reform Committee" was appointed by Annual Conference "to maintain an aggressive campaign of education on the subject of dress."[41] It did not attempt an active program toward teaching and encouraging plain dress, until it was merged with the General Welfare Board in 1924. Since that time efforts toward dress reforms have been largely with-

41. Revised Minutes, 1922, p. 214.

drawn. The problem has simply followed the inevitable course of changing culture.

Generally speaking the matter of dress among the Brethren is no different from dress in the social order at large. With the exception of a few of the most conservative churches the members of the Church of the Brethren cannot now be distinguished by their dress, altho within the last year (1931) the writer sat in a meeting where nearly a thousand members in a conservative District were attending a District Conference of the church, and all of the women, with the exception of one visitor, wore bonnets, and most of them the "prayer covering," and a majority of the men wore the "Brethren uniform" with no neckties.

As a sort of reaction to the older customs of dress, through liberalization, some of the churches are now experiencing an apparent swing to the other extreme in dress among the young people; some of them attempting to copy the most extreme fashions and metropolitan modes in dress.

It seems evident that the "Brethren garb," or "the order" as it was often called, has completely passed as a distinctive culture trait among the Brethren young people. Altho many of the older members, especially among the ministers and elders, still dress "in the order" when they attend religious services, the young people no longer observe the fashion of dress which was formerly peculiar to the Brethren.

During the transition period in the manner of dress, the culture conflicts were keenest. The older members of the conservative group were continually trying to check the tendency to adopt the common modes of dress. From the outside there was the constant urge to conform to the accepted patterns of other groups of young people who knew no religious limitations in modes of dress. Social life has become extremely embarrassing to many young people of Brethren faith who thought it their duty to wear the Brethren uniform which often made them conspicuous and miserable in the presence of friends who did not observe this custom. It is safe to say that marriage between young people of the

Brethren faith and those from without their culture group, was many times inhibited because of the peculiar customs of dress. It is not strange, therefore, that the young people tried to overthrow this practice. The wonder is that it passed so rapidly when once it began to wane. Almost complete transition has taken place within the brief span of the last twenty-five years, and largely through the medium of youth.

Clark Wissler, in discussing the tendency of youth to change the existing culture patterns says:

"In all forms of society the younger generation is a modifying factor, especially in an expanding group. They are in process of making their adjustments to conditions as they find them and so are not in full sympathy with the way of the older members of the group. All this is familiar enough, but is one of the internal factors making for change in culture. It is, however, the resistance of the elder that moderates the drive of the younger members of the group, and upon the degree to which these forces are equalized hangs the fate of the culture concerned." [42]

The older members are frequently bound by culture patterns of the past, but youth's community is the universe.

NONRESISTANCE

From its beginning the Church of the Brethren has consistently held and taught the doctrine of nonresistance. As believers in the literal text of the teachings of Christ, the early Brethren declared it wrong to carry arms in self-defense, and were strictly opposed to participation in any form of warfare. It is not difficult to understand the psychology of their stern opposition to war when one recalls the horrible background of experiences in Germany which tested so cruelly the faith of the first Brethren on the principle of nonresistance.[43] Their faith on this principle was further supplemented by their close association with Mennonites and Quakers in Germany and America, who also believed and practiced this doctrine.

Thru the medium of Christopher Sower's press, the early

42. Introduction to Social Anthropology, p. 367.
43. See chapter III.

Brethren exerted an active influence against war. When a militia company of National Guards was proposed and organized in 1747, "Sower protested energetically against it. In his paper and other publications he wielded his pen sturdily in favor of peace, at any price."[44]

The early church dealt severely with those who dared to take up arms, even in self-defense. A case is recorded of one Jacob Neff who during Indian massacres was attacked by two Indians while all alone at his flour mill in an isolated spot, now Roaring Spring, Pennsylvania. He kept a loaded rifle in his mill, and to save his own life, he shot both the Indians and then escaped for protection. Upon his return, with a group of neighbors, he found his mill burned to the ground. But Jacob Neff was excommunicated from the Brethren Church because he shot the Indians. He rebuilt his mill, but the Brethren would no longer patronize his business because of his violation of this sacred principle.[45]

At the close of the Revolutionary War the oath of allegiance to the state was required of all the citizens of Pennsylvania. This oath the Brethren steadfastly refused to take, and consequently suffered much persecution at the hands of the military officers.[46] They were willing to loyally support the new government but they had been taught "Swear not at all," and "fight not at all," and to these principles they were loyal. Consequently, life was made miserable for many of them until they sought refuge in the wilderness beyond the border of Pennsylvania, and away from other peoples.

The following effort toward aid in carrying out the principle of nonresistance, is recorded in the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of 1815; article 2:

"It has been discussed by us concerning the war matter, and it is agreed by all the Brethren that if a brother or brother's sons who con-

44. Friedrich Kapp, Biblia, (Translated from German by Edna Slecker), p. 42.
45. History of the Church of the Brethren in the Middle District of Pennsylvania, pp. 22-24.
46. See the case of Christopher Sower, Brumbaugh's History of the Brethren, pp. 414-419.

sider themselves according to the teaching of the Brethren 'defenseless' and prove themselves to be such and wish to obey the teachings of the Brethren—when these shall be hard pressed with the payment of fines they shall be assisted by the brethren according to the teaching of the apostle: "Let one bear the burden of another, thus you will fulfill the law of Jesus Christ." [47]

The church as a body has seldom put itself on record concerning its attitude toward war, probably as a matter of expediency and caution, but at each great military crisis in the history of the nation the issue has come to the front in the Annual Conference. Hence in 1845 at the time of the Mexican War, the Conference reaffirmed its principles of peace and again in 1864 in the face of the Civil War this re-statement of principles was recorded:

"As our national troubles, consequent upon the rebellion now existing in our country, have caused considerable difficulty in our church, and have tried our nonresistant principles, and have caused several questions concerning the paying of bounty-money, voting, etc., to come before this council-meeting, what counsel will this Annual Meeting give upon these subjects?

"Answer: We exhort the brethren to steadfastness in the faith, and believe that the times in which our lots are cast strongly demand of us a strict adherence to all our principles, and especially to our nonresistant principle, a principle dear to every subject of the Prince of peace, and a prominent doctrine of our fraternity, and to endure whatever sufferings and to make whatever sacrifice the maintaining of the principle may require, and not to encourage in any way the practice of war. And we think it more in accordance with our principles, that instead of paying bounty-money, and especially in taking an active part in raising bounty-money, to await the demands of the government, whether general, state, or local, and pay the fines and taxes required of us, as the gospel permits, and, indeed, requires. Matt. 22:21; Rom. 13:7. And lest the position we have taken upon political matters in general, and war matters in particular, should seem to make us, as a body, appear to be indifferent to our government, or in opposition thereto, in its efforts to suppress the rebellion, we hereby declare that it has our sympathies and our prayers, and that it shall have our aid in any way which does not con-

47. See Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 40. See also Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 492.

flict with the principles of the gospel of Christ. But since, in our Christian profession, we regard these gospel principles as superior or paramount to all others, consistency requires that we so regard them in our practices." [48]

When the clouds of the World War gathered over this country the Annual Conference again reaffirmed its consistent opposition to militarism and war, as follows:

"In view of the dreadful war now waging throughout the old world and the peace of our own land, the Church of the Brethren, assembled in its General (International) Conference at Winona Lake, Ind., June 8-15, 1916, extends greeting to all the churches, and exhorts and urges all its members to steadfastness in the principles of peace as taught by Jesus and the apostles and held uncompromisingly by the church from its beginning, and to which principles each member pledged himself when he entered into fellowship with the church.

"The church reaffirms its position in favor of peace even at the cost of suffering wrongfully, if need be, and its unalterable opposition to war and bloodshed under any conditions of provocation, and all preparation for war as one of its primal teachings, maintaining that all disputes, national and international, not settled by those involved, should be submitted to a Commission on Arbitration as the highest and final appeal of nations. And since the Government of the United States in its just dealings with its citizens has graciously provided for the free exercise of conscience in these matters, by authority of this Conference, copies of this resolution shall, if needed, be furnished to all members applying therefor, which may be used in connection with a certificate of membership from the local church in which one may reside, all of which may, if occasion arise, be presented to the authorities of our Government in seeking exemption from military service in accordance with any provision of the United States laws.

"Furthermore, believing that it is for the best interests of our country, as well as for our church that this country be kept free from the fact and spirit of militarism, believing that enforced or compulsory military training in public schools is an intrusion on the rights and consciences of those citizens who support the schools and yet stand opposed to militarism; as well as a menace to the future of Americanism and Democracy, we therefore enter our most earnest and solemn protest against the introduction of military training into our public schools and colleges; and de-

48. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, pp. 231, 232.

cide that this protest be carried in person by a committee of three members to be appointed by the Conference to the President of the United States." [49]

Many Brethren boys were conscripted into military service during the World War, and although provision was made by the federal government, for their exemption from actual military service, by participation in so-called noncombatant service, many of them suffered much unnecessary hardship and persecution at the hands of unsympathetic officers.

The church did not forbid her members to render noncombatant service in the World War, but either because of conscientious ignorance or personal obstinacy, a few of the Brethren boys, who found themselves in the military camps, flatly refused to render any service whatsoever. The action of these few made the situation more difficult for those who conscientiously tried to adhere to the principles of the church, but who willingly rendered any noncombatant service which they were asked to do.[50]

Strange as it may seem in the light of the evidence just given, some of the Brethren boys went into the war without any conscientious reservations as to the type of service in which they could participate. The writer knows personally of two young Brethren ministers who entered military training during the World War and became captains in the army. And what is still stranger, these two ministers returned to their home churches after the war and again became active and influential men in their churches.

These cases indicate a remarkable change toward leniency on the part of the church in her attitude toward individual members who do not strictly conform to her teaching and declarations concerning war. But it should not be taken as evidence of a weakening or shifting of the principles of the church in regard to war. Since the World War the Church of the Brethren has taken a very active part in national movements toward the prevention of war, and promotion of world peace. In this way the

49. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, pp. 208, 209.
50. See Norman Thomas, Is Conscience a Crime? pp. 25, 26, 38, 39, and 62-63.

church has stepped beyond her former self in two important respects: (1) by official and whole-hearted coöperation with other denominations in the effort to promote the interests of world peace; and (2) by making an active effort to influence governmental policies, locally and nationally, toward permanent peace. The chairman of the peace commssion of the Board of Religious Education of the Church of the Brethren, is at the present time a member of the Executive Council of the National Council for the Prevention of War.

Thus the principle of nonresistance, which for so many years was the chief factor in causing cultural seclusion among the Brethren and withdrawal from participation in social and political affairs, has now become the medium through which they are gaining international cultural contacts and political prestige. The principles which the Brethren have always held concerning war, seem to be growing in general favor among the churches since the World War.

SECRET SOCIETIES

Thruout the nineteenth century the problem of membership in secret and oath-bound organizations gave the Brethren a great deal of concern. Alexander Mack, in his "Rights and Ordinances of the House of God" condemned the taking of oaths by insisting that

> "If true believers agreeably to the doctrine of Christ, affirm with yea, what is yea, and deny with nay, what is nay—this is far better than many oaths, which mostly are sworn and not regarded after all." [51]

According to M. G. Brumbaugh, both the Christopher Sowers "were outspoken opponents of all secret societies." [52]

To begin with, the oath of loyalty or secrecy required of secret orders was a violation of the Brethren code of honor, and concept of right, for they were taught to "swear not at all."

The second count against secret societies was the fact of their secrecy. The Brethren advocated open profession of faith and simple, undisguised honesty in all their dealings. Secret orders

51. Brethren Encyclopedia, pp. 69, 70.
52. History of the Brethren, p. 412. Footnote.

were not compatible with this philosophy of life because they purposely hid their work from the eyes of men as if to shield some unbecoming actions.

The third count against them was conditioned on the "frivolities and unfruitful works" which were characteristic of some of the secret orders. These did violence to the puritanic nature of Brethren culture.

The church tried, therefore, to handle the problem by forbidding her members to join secret orders of all descriptions. The first recorded decision of Annual Meeting concerning this matter was in 1804, when the query came, asking:

"What is to be done with brethren who join the Freemasons? Though we are not sufficiently acquainted with this (secret) association to judge in the case, still there are revealed many trifling things, frivolities, and unfruitful works, so that it is considered highly improper for brethren to be members in their association, or to have fellowship with their works; therefore,

"It has been unanimously concluded that in case there are brethren defiled therewith, they should be admonished in heartfelt love, and informed that if they wanted to be (remain) in fellowship with these (masonic) brethren, we could not have fellowship with them; and if after such admonition they would not hear or receive counsel, we would have to avoid them, and could have no fellowship with them. But if one were contaminated with this, and would repent from the heart (and renounce all further fellowship with this association) in faith and hope, he might be received again in the name of Jesus Christ." [53]

The problem took very definite form when, in 1847, the Conference was confronted with the question:

"Would it be proper for brethren to join the secret association of the Sons of Temperance?

"Answer: Considered, inasmuch as we are to 'prove all things, and hold fast that which is good,' and as the nature of secret societies is such as to preclude the knowledge of them, before a membership is obtained, we consider it improper for a member of the church to join such an order." [54]

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53. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 26, art. 6.
54. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 95, art. 10.

Minutes of 1852, article 27:

"Is it according to the Gospel to receive a man into the church, belonging to the order of Odd Fellows?

"Answer: Considered that it is not, unless he is willing to withdraw from and renounce that order." [55]

Minutes of 1855, article 19:

"What to do with a person wishing to become a member, and confessing to be a Freemason, yet not willing to renounce it?

"Answer: Considered that no person could or should, be admitted into the church unless he shall previously renounce all connection whatever with Freemasonry, or any and every other secret society, with which he may have been connected." [56]

Minutes of 1859, article 4:

"As secret societies seem to be multiplying, and as many young men around us join them, and as some undertake a defense of them, it seems necessary that our minds need to be frequently stirred up on this matter. Then as we profess to be followers of him who said, 'In secret have I done nothing,' will the Yearly Meeting, through its proceedings, come up to the side of our Lord?

"Answer: We consider that members should not participate in any secret or oath-bound societies whatsoever; and if, after they have been duly admonished, they persist in such participation, we consider the church is justifiable in excommunicating them." [57]

Thus after grappling with this problem for a half century the church had officially excluded from its membership, all who belonged to secret societies of any kind. But occasionally an applicant for membership was baptized into the church, while holding active membership in some secret order, which fact was also a secret. This was the occasion for the query and decisions of 1870 which follow:

"Would it not be prudent, since secret orders as Freemasons, Odd Fellows, etc., are becoming more and more prevalent, to ask every applicant before baptism whether he belongs to any secret order?

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55. Ibid., p. 133.
56. Ibid., p. 151.
57. Ibid., pp. 182-183.

"Answer: We consider it necessary and prudent to do so." [58]

By 1893, the churches were having considerable difficulty in getting all the members to conform strictly to the decisions concerning secret fraternities, and the elders in some of the churches were inclined to become lenient in their attitude toward them as the following query to the Annual Conference indicates:

"Whereas, the great evil of secret societies is growing, and is multiplying in the land, to the detriment of the family, the church, and the civil government; and whereas, there are reports in places of brethren holding membership in secret societies; and whereas, some elders seem to be unwilling to take action in the matter, seeming inclined rather to husband and shield the guilty; therefore will not this Annual Meeting authorize any member who has the knowledge of a member or members belonging to a secret order, or is reported as belonging to a secret order, to report such case or cases to the church in which such members live, and if the elder refuses to act or delays action in the case or cases then the complaining member shall reduce the complaint to writing, with one or more names signed, and shall present it to the adjoining elders, whose duty it will be to investigate the complaint; also the unfaithfulness of the elder or elders for not investigating the report?

"Answer: Yes, this Annual Meeting so authorizes." [59]

It is but reasonable that the Brethren who insisted so strongly upon plain and simple dress, should object to the conspicuous uniforms and ceremonial demonstrations of the secret order, upon funeral occasions in Brethren churches. Hence the Conference of 1903 decided,

"Our churchhouses shall be open to secret organizations for funerals only when they dispense with their secret order regalia and ceremonies." [60]

Altho these declarations of the church regarding secret orders have not been repealed, they are not strictly observed and members of the church become members of secret fraternities without any risk of excommunication. The church has turned her attention away from these personal matters toward more

58. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 287, art. 12.
59. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1932, p. 194.
60. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, p. 195.

constructive moral issues and religious problems. Perhaps one reason for the waning emphasis on this problem is the fact that the secret orders seem to have run their course in the rural communities and are now in a period of decline. Other social interests, places of amusement, and various types of recreation have destroyed the appeal of the old secret society hall to which the men of the rural communities, villages and towns, resorted in their leisure hours.

Thus like many another culture conflict, which religious groups have wept and prayed and quarreled about, this one, when left to take its course, vanished with the cloud of smoke by which it tried to justify its ends.

MEETINGHOUSES AND ORDER OF WORSHIP

There were no church houses at first among the Brethren. They worshiped in private homes in a sort of rotation.[61] The first churchhouse was built in 1770 at Germantown; a small stone structure of plain design which is still standing as a shrine to those early builders. Its only internal accessories were places for people to sit.

For two centuries the Brethren continued to build plain and unpretentious places of worship. Often beautiful in their simplicity, these buildings may be said to suggest humble modesty in worship. But inwardly many of them presented an atmosphere which today would seem bleak and bare and cold, without the friendly and æsthetic touches of modern architecture. There was much in common between the meetinghouses of the Brethren, Mennonites and Quakers. Even now in certain rural sections it is difficult to distinguish them. But generally speaking the newer church houses built by the Brethren bespeak definite progressive trends in culture. Many of the churches built in recent years are large and beautiful structures with all necessary conveniences and equipment.

In the early days it was customary to have a ministers' bench behind the pulpit, where all the ministers—resident and visiting—

61. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 280.

were expected to sit. There were no pastors, and the honor of "exhorting the brethren," was passed from one to the other of the ministers present. Visiting ministers were always asked to speak, as a matter of courtesy. Gradually the custom changed to orderly rotation of responsibility among the resident ministers to preach in each congregation. This plan, of course, necessitated enough ministers to share this work. Since each congregation chose its own ministers this matter of number of ministers usually took care of itself.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

There were no musical instruments used in any of the early churches, since the Brethren considered them worldly instruments and unbecoming to the "house of God." The surprising part is that without instruments they were able to develop remarkable skill in harmony and group singing. Many proficient music teachers held singing schools thruout the Brotherhood. As a result the Brethren developed unusually fine congregational singing which has attracted much attention from other denominations. This seems to have been a culture trait in vocal music which developed because of the absence of instruments both in churches and homes. Dr. Brumbaugh has called attention to the early demand among the Brethren for hymn books, citing fourteen different editions of a single book of selected hymns entitled "Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel," which came from the press of Christopher Sower. He says, "The Brethren introduced the most important and widely used hymn book of Colonial America." And all this interest in music was developed without the use of musical instruments.[62]

The Annual Conference of 1852 decided that "A member could lay out his money to better advantage" than "to have or keep in his house costly musical instruments."[63]

"Is it considered conforming to the world for ministering brethren, or others, to have musical instruments, such as melodeons, pianos, etc.,

62. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 552.
63. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1852, art. 11.

in their houses, and for their children, who are members of the church, to spend their precious time in playing on such instruments?

"Answer: Considered, that it is tending too much in that direction, the world being largely engaged in it, and we have no example in the New Testament that it was ever indulged in by Christians. Yet, if strictly confined to sacred music, we can not positively prohibit it, but advise all the beloved members to deny themselves of this indulgence, believing that it is attended with dangerous consequences."

This action was further strengthened by corroborating decisions in 1870, 1873, and again in 1874. By 1880, a number of members were insisting on having musical instruments in their homes for their children and Conference found it increasingly difficult to inhibit this "worldly" tendency.

The natural consequence resulted. Organs somehow got into certain churches, and a storm ensued.

"Is it right for churches of the Brethren to use organs in their meetinghouses in worship? If not, what shall be done with those congregations who have them?

"Answer: No; and those who have them be instructed to put them away, and if they will not, to be considered and dealt with as disobedient members."

Sentiment in favor of musical instruments grew so strong in certain churches that the decisions of Conference were without much force in this regard and the matter took the natural course. Stimulated by the prevalence of musical instruments in the churches of other denominations, the young people of the church insisted on the use of instruments to aid in the development of church choirs and concert singing until many of the churches now use them freely. The employment of a pastor by some of the congregations intensified the tendency to reorganize the order of procedure in keeping with the current trends in religious organizations, and that included music.

As recently as 1920, however, the Annual Conference passed a decision advising that "musical instruments be not used in churches where they disturb the peace of the congregation."[64]

64. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, p. 160.

The writer has just completed a questionnaire survey of over one hundred churches of the Brotherhood, in an effort to determine the present status of the churches concerning certain social problems on which there are no collected data. One of the questions asked was, "Is there a musical instrument used in this church?" Out of 107 churches which replied, 81 of them answered *yes,* indicating that about three-fourths of them are using one or more instruments in connection with their services.[65] It is the opinion of the writer that this is representative of the proportion for the entire Brotherhood since these data came from representative churches from all parts of the Brotherhood.

Thus in the comparatively short period of approximately forty years, the majority of Brethren churches have come to use musical instruments in spite of the faithful efforts of the more conservative group to inhibit this practice. A few of the churches in the larger urban centers have installed pipe organs and conduct their worship service in keeping with them.

Twenty-nine of the 107 churches reporting have organized choirs, but none of them have "paid choirs," that is, choir members are not paid for their services, with one exception in which one church reports that the choir leader is paid.

ORDER OF WORSHIP

With the coming of pastors there is a noticeable tendency to change from the old informal type of "preaching services," toward a formal and carefully planned order of worship. It is easy to understand how, in the early days, when for more than sixty years the services were held in private homes, the customary procedure was of necessity informal and personal in character. The plainness and simplicity of the earliest meetinghouses were conducive to this same mode of informality in worship. Not until the influences of education and culture fusion had brought in some elements of systematized procedure, did the Brethren participate in formal order of worship. Then, too, the experiences of the Brethren in Germany with formalism in the state

65. See Appendix for full description of the questionnaire survey, and chart of results.

religions required more than a single generation to forget. But there is now a marked tendency to more formality in worship services, and the structure and atmosphere of the newer churches are expressive of this change.

It was always customary for the mothers to bring their children to "preaching" with them, even the babes in arms. Now the kindergarten departments of the Sunday-schools, at least in the larger churches, are providing for the religious life of the "little lambs" on Sunday, and only the older members of the flock are fed by the shepherds during the sermon hour.

It should be noted too, that there has been transition in the type of sermons preached. The older emotional appeal, based on the "fear philosophy" of the future life, has given way to the more intellectual appeal for moral and ethical controls, seasoned with reverence and brotherly love. The Bible is no longer quoted as the unrelenting law of God, but offered as revelation of the Perfect Life. In essence the doctrinal modes and practices of the Brethren have been transformed from laws of "separatism" into principles of universal brotherhood.

No simple factor of cultural change can account for these transitions, but a number of contributory factors should be mentioned. A better trained ministry and better educated laity in recent years, contacts with peoples of other faiths and practices, made possible by better means of communication and the leveling influences of public schools; cultural diffusion thru the medium of a liberalized youth; and the natural flexibility of Brethren culture patterns in the absence of any iron-bound creed; have each contributed a share toward the remaking of doctrinal modes and practices in the Church of the Brethren.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

The educational policies in any religious body are obviously of paramount importance in determining its cultural developments. The history of educational interests in the Church of the Brethren does not record an orderly or consistently progressive sequence of educational endeavors.

Dr. John S. Flory, who has for years been a faithful and influential educator in the church, wrote, a few years ago concerning the educational activities of the church in these words:[1]

"Our educational history as a church abounds in paradoxes. At the beginning of our history we were among the most ardent advocates of higher learning, and possessed a liberal share of it in our own membership. We promoted educational institutions with an ardor that would do credit to any people. Later we descended to the opposite extreme, and placed ourselves on record as opposed to all forms of higher education. After a while we began gradually to recover our pristine ardor for intellectual culture, and today are again taking our place among the sane promoters of higher learning in this country."

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Among the first generation of Brethren there were some highly educated men, who advocated higher training and the establishment of schools for the purpose of educating the young people in sound religious principles. Even before the Church of the Brethren was organized, the first members were undergoing a period of special training in Christian principles and practices under the influence of some scholarly Pietists,[2] such as Jacob Spener, educated in the Universities of Strasburg, Geneva, and Tübingen; Herman Francke, at one time a teacher of theology

1. Educational Blue Book and Directory of the Church of the Brethren, 1708-1923, p. 23.
2. See S. Z. Sharp, Educational History of the Church of the Brethren, chap. II. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, chap. II.

at the University of Halle; Gottfried Arnold, Professor of Church History at Giessen, from whose writings Alexander Mack quoted in his thesis on the "Rites and Ordinances of the House of God"; Jeremias Fellinger, Superintendent of Schools at Corzlin in Pomerania and translator of the New Testament, author of a book called "Christliches Handbüchlein" (Christian Handbook), which was a very widely used document among the early Brethren in Germany and America; and Christopher Hochmann, who studied at the University of Halle, whose "Confession of Faith" previously referred to, was significant in influence among the early Brethren. Under the influence of these and other scholarly men Brethrenism took form. It grew out of a scholastic atmosphere among well educated men.

Little is known concerning the education of Alexander Mack, but from the fact that he came from a family of considerable wealth, which would give opportunity for education, and that he himself was a wealthy man before persecutors robbed him of his possessions, and considering too that he lived near the University of Heidelberg, and that he showed familiarity with important literature of his day, which he quoted in his own scholarly writings, we may safely assume that he was a learned man.

Others among the early Brethren who were men of learning were, John Naas; Peter Becker; George Adam Martin, an author and scholar in Latin and German; Michael Frantz, a composer of hymns and a writer; Martin Urner; Michael Eckerlin; John Preisz; and the Sowers.[3]

THE PRINTING PRESS

Christopher Sower's printing press established in 1738 in Germantown was perhaps the most significant educational agency among the Germans in Colonial America until its destruction during the Revolutionary War. Christopher Sower the second, was a prolific writer on religious, as well as social problems, and his writings probably moulded the social and religious attitudes among the German element more than any other single influence.

3. See Sharp, Educational History, pp. 36, 37.

He wrote and circulated articles denouncing slavery, foolish fashions, the use of intoxicants, and strongly condemned war, advocating openly the principles of nonresistance. In 1754, he wrote and published a book on Christian Education. He was a strong advocate of education, and took an active part in establishing the famous Germantown Academy in 1759, contributed liberally to it, helped to collect other funds for it, and was a member of the board of trustees for a number of years and served ten years as president of the board of trustees. Sharp says of him, "Among pioneer Americans no man stands out more prominently as an active champion of a broad and liberal education than the second Christopher Sower."[4] It is evident, therefore, that many of the early Brethren acquired and advocated higher education.

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the printing press by the Sowers, Ludwig Hoecker began to hold "Regular Sunday afternoon services for the unmarried or young people at the house of Christopher Sower."[5] This was in the year 1738. It is noteworthy that this was the first organized Sunday-school in America, and was held regularly for the young people of Germantown, more than forty years before Robert Raikes began his Sunday-school work in England. Hoecker later joined the Ephrata Society and organized and directed a Sunday-school at Ephrata (1748). Yet neither Ludwig Hoecker nor the Brethren get the credit generally for having originated the Sunday-school movement. Perhaps one explanation for this is the fact that the Brethren did not widely advertise this new experiment themselves because it was new and untried and because it was not their policy to attempt any show or display of their practices to the world. A second explanation, and perhaps a more important one, is, that by the time Robert Raikes started his Sunday-school work in England, the German peoples in the colonies had incurred the ill will of the English colonists because of their attitude to-

4. Sharp, Educational History of the Brethren, p. 37.
5. Sharp, "Early Educational Activities," Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren, p. 311.

ward war at the outbreak of the Revolution. Particularly was this true of the Brethren for they declared themselves strictly a nonresistant people, and were consequently not credited with any good works during that period. Their humble contributions to American life were forthwith forgotten. The Sunday-school movement has expanded until in 1926, there were 1,180 Sunday-schools with 2,121 organized classes, with an enrollment of 131,000.[6]

Under the direction of the Board of Religious Education the program of religious education includes special leadership training schools offering short courses to train local church leaders. 1,788 credits were earned by leaders in training during the year 1930.[7] During that year, 193 Vacation Church Schools were conducted.

The Young People's Department, known as the B. Y. P. D., has its local church organizations under a national secretary. This department conducts Training Camps and Conferences for the young people at various places throughout the Brotherhood. In 1930, there were 26 of these regional Camps and Conferences conducted, running from five to ten days, with a total attendance of more than 1,300 young people.[8]

PRIVATE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The early educational tendencies of the Brethren are further attested to by the rapid spread of private schools to teach the rudiments of education in practically every community where there was a Brethren church. The close connection between church and school is shown by the fact that the Germantown parsonage was the place where school was held in that community of Brethren,[9] and Germantown was the educational center of the church at that time. It was, also in Germantown, that the pious old Mennonite, Christopher Dock, taught his school and where some of the children of the Brethren families attended

6. Yearbook Church of the Brethren, 1928, p. 48.
7. Yearbook 1931, p. 27.
8. Yearbook, 1931, p. 26.
9. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 388.

school, among whom was Christopher Sower Jr., who later published a treatise on education, written by Dock.[10]

Not only were the elementary tools of learning taught in these private schools, but some of them gave instruction in industrial arts, drawing, sewing, and painting. The schools were supported by private donations, usually by the patrons, and generally conducted in private homes.

EDUCATIONAL DECLINE

After the destruction of the Sower Printing Press, during the Revolutionary War, the most powerful educational force for the Brethren was gone and the educational spirit seemed to go with it. Persecutions for failure to take the oath of allegiance required by the Pennsylvania Colony caused many of the Brethren to move to other parts, and their organized activities were thus forced to cease. All educational efforts were practically suspended after the war. Migrations scattered them into the remote and undeveloped frontier country. They purposely avoided contact with the large centers of population and peoples of other faiths. Brethren communities developed here and there in isolation from each other and from the culture centers of population. As a sort of cultural reaction they even came to look with distinct disfavor upon higher education and the types of culture it produced.

"In their isolation their lives had become narrow and provincial. The church had lost vision and had become stereotyped in forms and customs."[11] For almost a century the Church of the Brethren was without any active educational influence within its own ranks and the longer it continued in this state the fewer trained ministers and teachers there were among them. Even the Sunday-school idea was abandoned during this period of scholastic depression. Soon after the revival of printing for the church, by Eld. Henry Kurtz, in 1851, his *Gospel Visitor* carried articles advocating a revival of learning, and establishment of

10. Op. cit., p. 313.
11. J. S. Flory, Educational Renaissance in the Church of the Brethren; Educational Blue Book, p. 31.

a school. The attitude of the Brethren immediately came to the surface, in opposition to it. Minutes of 1847, article 19:

"What are the views of the present Annual Council in regard to the contemplated school, that was attended to some time since in the Gospel Visitor?

"Answer: It is conforming to the world. The Apostle Paul says: 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.'"

As the public school movement developed the children of Brethren people gradually drifted into these schools, and problems very naturally arose concerning "worldly" practices connected with them. Minutes of 1869, article 24:

"Is it according to the gospel for brethren who are school teachers, whether lay members, ministers, or elders, at the expiration of their school, to have exhibitions, at which their scholars speak dialogues, and have two or three fiddles to keep up time, and have large crowds assembled together? And if it is wrong, can it be done? And if it is right, please give us scripture for it so that all may be satisfied.

"Answer: We consider such exhibitions very wrong, and think brethren should not encourage them."

Public schools, however, became a strong factor in bringing back to life the ghost of education in the Church of the Brethren. The older leaders who were trained in the schools of Germany were now dead, and only a few individuals who had dared to seek higher education were prepared to do any teaching. This period of lapse had retarded educational progress among the Brethren fully one generation. Thus as a people they naturally fell behind other denominations that emphasized education thruout this period of national expansion in development of schools. Whereas other denominations were raising the educational requirements of their ministry, the Brethren had no schools and no well educated ministers. Obviously, the cultural loss sustained by the church during these "dark ages" when there were no educational facilities or opportunities for the young people of the church, is inestimable. Some few young men dared to break away from the limitations of church and home and to seek higher learning in colleges and universities. They immediately found themselves ostracized religiously and socially. There was no place in the

Brethren Church for highly educated men. Naturally they turned their interests in other directions and drifted into other churches where they could find freer atmosphere for achievement. There were a few faithful and God-fearing men, however, who sensed the perils of an uneducated populace and gave themselves faithfully to the task of educational reconstruction for the church.

REVIVAL OF EDUCATION

The recovery was necessarily very slow. But certain "wise men," Brethren, awakened to this situation which threatened the future of the church. Sentiment began to develop in favor of establishing schools. Such men as Henry Kurtz, Jacob Miller, Peter Nead, Isaac Price, Daniel Hays, Abraham Cassel, M. S. Newcomer, J. G. Royer, R. H. Miller, D. C. Flory, S. Z. Sharp, and James Quinter were promoters of the revival of higher education about the middle of the nineteenth century.[12] To these and others who at this crucial period in the church turned their efforts to the unpopular cause of higher education and rescued the church from complete oblivion, she owes an eternal debt of gratitude. Elders Henry Kurtz and James Quinter, thru their writings in the *Gospel Visitor* in favor of schools, were especially influential in arousing sentiment for education of the youth of the church and a better trained ministry. Their publications were also largely responsible for the matter of schools being brought before the Annual Meeting for open discussion.[12] This proposal was presented to the District Meeting, but met with disapproval and the matter was dropped. But this proposal expressed the sentiment that was growing in different sections of the country and soon there started a veritable siege of attempts at founding higher institutions of learning.

Following is a chronological list of the schools and colleges organized by the Brethren since the new awakening which began about 1850:[13]

12. Op. cit., p. 33.
13. This list follows closely the list given by Dr. J. S. Flory in the Educational Blue Book and Directory, pp. 108-110, but with certain revision by the writer, to show recent changes and indicate developments.

Date Founded	School	Location	Discontinued
1852	Jacob Miller's Select School,	Buffalo Mills, Pa.	1853
1859	Cedar Grove Seminary,	Broadway, Va.	
1861	Kishacoquillas Seminary,	Mifflin County, Pa.	1867
1861	New Vienna Academy,	New Vienna, Ohio	1864
1870	Salem College,	Bourbon, Ind.	1874
1871	Pleasant Hill College,	Warsaw, Ind.	1872
1872	Brethren High School,	Berlin, Pa.	1874
1872	Burnetts Creek Normal School,	Burnettsville, Ind.	1875
1874	Plum Creek Normal School,	Elderton, Pa.	1878
1876	Huntingdon Normal School and Collegiate Institute, Huntingdon, Pa., now Juniata College, Senior College.		
1879	Ashland College, Ashland, Ohio, belongs to the Progressive Brethren since 1882		
1879	Mount Morris Seminary and Collegiate Institute, Mount Morris, Ill., now Mount Morris College, Senior College.		
1880	Spring Creek Normal and Collegiate Institute, Spring Creek, Va., now Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Va., Senior College of Bridgewater-Daleville System of Schools.		
1882	Linden Seminary, Hagerstown, Md. Discontinued after few years.		
1882	Mountain Normal School,	Hylton, Va.	1886
1888	McPherson College, McPherson, Kansas, now Senior College.		
1890	Botetourt Normal School, Daleville, Va. Daleville Academy, of Bridgewater-Daleville System of Schools.		
1891	Lordsburg College, La Verne, Calif., now La Verne College.		
1895	Manchester College and Bible School, North Manchester, Ind., now Manchester College, Senior College.		
1896	Fruitdale Academy,	Fruitdale, Ala.	1901
1897	Citronelle College, Citronelle, Ala. Discontinued after few years.		
1897	Plattsburg College,	Plattsburg, Mo.	1900
1899	Maryland Collegiate Institute, Union Bridge, Maryland, now Blue Ridge College, Junior College affiliated with the Bridgewater-Daleville system of schools.		
1899	Smithfield Collegiate Institute,	Smithfield, Ohio	1902
1899	Prince William Normal School, Brentville, Va. Discontinued after few years.		
1900	Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, Pa., Senior College.		
1904	Canton College and Bible School,	Canton, Ohio	1907
1905	Bethany Bible School, Chicago, Ill., now Bethany Biblical Seminary.		
1905	Berean Bible School, Los Angeles, Calif. Discontinued after few years.		
1909	Hebron Seminary,	Nokesville, Va.	1924
1922	Church of the Brethren Industrial School, Geer, Va., now Greene County Industrial School.		
1923	Brethren Industrial School for Mexicans, Falfurrias, Tex., of short duration		

This list reveals the fact that the period from 1850 to 1900 was a period of educational expansion in the Church of the Brethren, and a period of "mushroom" development of secondary schools and colleges, many of which were short-lived. But they all constituted a part of this new movement and made their contribution, if only by way of experience in problems of education. The greatest single hindrance to the rapid development of private schools was the difficulty in raising funds to support them. While many of the Brethren had acquired considerable wealth, they had also learned to be very conservative in its expenditure, especially toward the development of social enterprises. Neither had the majority of them come to realize the relation of education to the welfare of the church. Hence, the financial burden of support as well as the duties of promotion and management of the schools, fell on a small percentage of the members, who might be called leaders.

It will be noted that the most of the schools established before 1875 were secondary schools, the purpose being principally to extend educational opportunities above the grades and to emphasize Bible study as a vital part of the curriculum.

Then followed a period of growth of the normal school idea, or teachers' institutes, for the purpose of preparing Brethren young people to teach in the public schools. The college level of school work is of comparatively recent development, although several of the schools have been known as colleges for many years. What was known as college grade work before 1900 was little more than an extension of the secondary school modified with Bible and pedagogy. As the educational standards became more clearly defined thruout the country, and followed a sliding scale of standardization upward, these private schools of the Brethren underwent tremendous struggles to adjust their policies to meet the accepted standards. One noticeable result was the gradual elimination of the departments of secondary education from the schools of collegiate rank, and the closing of most of the academies. Public high schools with free tuition and modern methods and facilities and well trained principals and many of

the teachers trained in church schools, have largely eliminated the necessity for, and the support of, private secondary schools. At present only two Brethren schools are offering work of secondary school level, namely Blue Ridge College, New Windsor, Maryland, which maintains a high school department, supported by the State, and Daleville Academy, Daleville, Virginia, which is the secondary school unit of the Bridgewater-Daleville System of Schools. Both of these institutions are now struggling against the competition of public high schools.

The principal educational work of the church at the present time, therefore, is of collegiate grade.

Of the ten schools now in operation, seven of them are standard liberal arts colleges; namely: Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Virginia; Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania; Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania; La Verne College, La Verne, California; Manchester College, North Manchester, Indiana; McPherson College, McPherson, Kansas; and Mount Morris College, Mount Morris, Illinois. Blue Ridge College is a junior college, with a high school unit, as explained before.

The Brethren have one seminary for the training of ministers and religious leaders, known as Bethany Biblical Seminary, located at Chicago, Illinois. It offers a regular divinity course leading to the degree of bachelor of divinity, and also training course for religious workers not pursuing the B. D. degree.

Thus the reconstruction of education in the church since 1850 has produced some remarkable changes, not the least among which is the shift of emphasis from narrow interests in the preservation of group religious patterns, to worthy participation in the important social problems of the day.

The evolution of attitude toward higher education can best be seen as reflected through various decisions of the Annual Conference.

In 1890, the appointment by Standing Committee of three elders for each Brethren school was authorized and these committees charged

" . . . to watch over the moral and religious influence of the schools,

and see that the principles of the Gospel and church government be carried out as defined by Annual Meeting, and report annually to Annual Meeting the condition of the schools, and they may serve so long as they give general satisfaction to the Brotherhood.

"All members of the faculty, who are members of our church, shall be in full sympathy with the principles and doctrines of the church, and shall conform to the order of the Brotherhood in their personal appearance." [14]

To the Conference of 1905 came a number of queries raising objection to textbooks, teaching "false doctrine," being used in Brethren schools; to intercollegiate athletic contests; and to the influence of the schools in causing the young people to depart from accepted customs of dress, and to violate the principles of the church. A committee was appointed to study these problems. After three years (1908), upon the recommendation of this committee, the Conference appointed an Educational Board of seven members appointed for five years whose terms should expire by rotation, and decreed that they should have general supervision over the schools and that

"All questions arising as to teachers, textbooks, courses of study, athletics, church government, morals and religion, in connection with the several schools shall be referred to the Educational Board for decision." [15]

By the wise counsel of this board no open breaches occurred between the schools and the church. Gradually the "whole lump was leavened" to the stage of development where the schools were permitted to proceed along lines of favorable competition with other private colleges and church schools.

PRESENT STATUS

A significant step toward administration efficiency and economy was taken by two of the colleges in 1924, when Bridgewater College, of Bridgewater, Virginia, and Daleville College, of Daleville, Virginia, consolidated their interests into one standard college and one academy to serve the whole southeastern territory

14. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1890, art. 14.
15. See Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 869.

of the Brotherhood. Five years later (1929), Blue Ridge College became partly affiliated with the Bridgewater-Daleville System of Schools, and now operates as a junior college with a high school unit under its direction. Complete consolidation has not yet been worked out for this third member of the system of schools, but is in the process of completion. This consolidation plan has aroused considerable interest thruout the Brotherhood, as a wise and timely experiment in educational process.

Since the revision of the General Education Board in 1928, including the presidents of all the schools as members, it has functioned actively toward working out sound policies for the future.

Dr. J. S. Noffsinger, who has been secretary of the General Education Board for a number of years, completed a research study as a Ph. D. dissertation in 1925, published under the title, "A Program for Higher Education in the Church of the Brethren," in which he produced evidence to show that the church has organized schools much out of proportion to its ability to support and develop them, as compared with similar schools of other denominations. Accordingly, the church constituency for each of the eight colleges is too small to sustain normal and healthful growth, if they continue to depend largely upon Brethren patronage for enrollment, and financial support. Hence, Dr. Noffsinger drew the conclusion that, "The creation of a larger denominational constituency can reasonably be accomplished only by a process of consolidation,"[16] and he proposed that the Brotherhood be divided into four educational areas, and only one senior college maintained in each. This proposal has been in the hands of the General Education Board for several years, and seemingly has received much favorable comment by leading educators of the Brethren Church, and has also attracted considerable attention of educators of other denominations. But provincial loyalties and local sentiments are difficult to overcome even in the face of strong expediency, and the eight colleges still operate. It seems clear to the writer that all of these schools cannot be

16. J. S. Noffsinger, Program of Higher Education of the Church of the Brethren, p. 62.

maintained under the present arrangement, and that only two alternatives remain. Either there must be further consolidation among the Brethren colleges to increase the efficiency and strengthen the support of a few schools advantageously located; or as the natural result of the increasing pressure of competitive standardization, some of them will be of necessity forced to discontinue.

The following tables give a summary of the present status of the Brethren schools:

Table I.

	Enrollment				
	College	Academy	Extension	Summer and Special	Total
I. Colleges					
Blue Ridge	62	118	0	7	187
Bridgewater-Daleville	207	56	0	10	273
Elizabethtown	178	0	99	263	540
Juniata	522	0	57	262	841
La Verne	173	0	0	13	186
Manchester	669	0	249	565	1,145
McPherson	273	0	0	256	529
Mount Morris	132	0	0	68	200
II. Theological Seminary					
Bethany Bible School	*63	†85	66	13	227

* Seminary.

† Training School.

Table II.

	Faculty					
	College	Academy	Others	Brethren	Non-Brethren	Total
I. Colleges						
Blue Ridge	8	7	0	5	10	15
Bridgewater-Daleville	20	7	0	21	6	27
Elizabethtown	18	0	0	11	7	18
Juniata	40	0	0	18	22	40
La Verne	19	0	4	15	8	23
Manchester	35	0	5	31	9	40
McPherson	28	0	0	16	12	28
Mount Morris	20	0	0	13	7	20
II. Theological Seminary						
Bethany Bible School	12	0	0	12		12

Table III.

	Student Body			
	Ministers	Brethren	Other Christians	Non-Christian
I. Colleges				
Blue Ridge	3	19	39	1
Bridgewater-Daleville	13	200	63	10
Elizabethtown	4	105	71	2
Juniata	26	133	389	0
La Verne	4	135	37	14
Manchester	0	342	290	37
McPherson	16	129	0	25
Mount Morris	8	85	35	12
II. Theological Seminary				
Bethany Bible School	33	152	9	0

Following are a few facts which are taken from the statements of pastors and elders of 107 representative churches thruout the Brotherhood, in response to a questionnaire recently sent out by the writer.[17]

In the 107 churches reported on, representing a total membership of 17,018, 20 per cent of the congregations report less than 10 per cent of the members as high school graduates; and 63 per cent with less than 25 per cent of the members as high school graduates; and 95 per cent of the churches have less than 50 per cent of the members as high school graduates.

In these 107 churches there are 515 college graduates, which is 3 per cent of the membership, or about one college graduate to every 33 members.

There are 130 graduates of universities and professional schools, or .8 per cent of the total membership represented, or about one person with graduate professional training to every 130 members.

There were 273 young people from these 107 churches attending college last year (1930-1931). Of this group 165 attended Brethren colleges and the remainder went to non-Brethren schools. In other words 60.4 per cent of the college students from Brethren homes were attending Brethren colleges. The other 39.6 per cent were attending other colleges and universities. The fact that nearly 40 per cent of the college students among the Brethren, attend non-Brethren colleges, when considered along with the fact that only 29.4 per cent of the total number of students enrolled in Brethren colleges were members of the Brethren Church,[18] would lead to the conclusion that the Brethren young people are exchanging social contacts with other peoples and that the Brethren colleges are no longer depending upon patronage of Brethren people alone, nor are the Brethren depending entirely on their own colleges. This means that, whatever culture barriers may have surrounded the Brethren schools and the educa-

17. See Appendix.
18. See table of enrollment statistics, pp. 185, 186.

tion of the young people in the past to keep them strictly Brethren, are now largely broken down and culture fusion flows thru the channels of higher education in both directions.

CHANGES AND THEIR CAUSES

It is evident that the tendency now points toward concentration of efforts on college grade of work, and further consolidation to unify the efforts toward efficiency and economy in administration.

The rapid expansion of the public school movement thruout the United States [19] and its extension upward in grade and curriculum very likely had a marked influence on the upward trend in the Brethren schools toward the senior college level of work. The public schools also influenced the liberalization and enrichment of courses offered.

Competition of other private colleges and rising standards of evaluation in higher education, have served to broaden the curriculum. Hence, less emphasis is now being placed on Biblical literature and religious subjects, and more emphasis on liberal arts and vocational training.

The development in recent years of the Sunday-schools and a general program of religious education thruout the Brotherhood has partly relieved the colleges of their responsibility for training church leaders.

The liberalizing influence which the schools of the several types have had on the church has developed a consciousness of educational needs and problems, which will sustain a progressive program of educational endeavor.

Diffusion of culture thru the medium of schools is rapidly breaking up narrow culture patterns among the Brethren.

19. Leonard V. Koos, The American Secondary Schools, chap. I.

CHAPTER X

THE MINISTRY

HOW MINISTERS ARE SECURED

To be "called" to the ministry in the Church of the Brethren has always been considered by her members as a high honor and a sacred responsibility. But in keeping with the doctrine of the simple life, Brethren have considered it vain and ostentatious for a brother to seek for himself this preferred rank among his fellows. Accordingly it has been the custom to await the "calling" of the church as the initial step inducing one to consider the ministry as his field of service. The "call" of the church is interpreted as the "call of God," since the church is considered as the temporal order of the kingdom of God and the medium for the work of the Holy Spirit in accomplishing his will. Hence, failure to answer the "call," has been taught to be the equivalent of shrinking from the Master's service and doubting divine wisdom in the choice of his workers. Thus the church's responsibility in selecting its ministry has always carried with it, to a greater or less degree, the "voice of authority," and this is how it works.

A local congregation in regular quarterly council meeting sets a definite date for a future council meeting at which one or more ministers shall be chosen. The number to be chosen is usually specified beforehand, in order that the brethren may have in mind the names of a suitable number for whom they can cast their votes at the appointed time. Local churches may elect any number of ministers as in their discretion their local needs may warrant.

Upon the occasion for election of ministers, usually in conjunction with the business of regular council meeting, the period for election is called by the moderator and ballots are cast, secretly, by all members present, for anyone whom they may think best suited for the work of the ministry. Formerly no names

were even suggested publicly by officers of the meeting, lest the guidance of the Holy Spirit in directing the vote of the church body might be interfered with. More recently by action of the Annual Conference of 1917,

"A young man who feels called of the Lord to the ministry, but who has not been chosen, may speak freely to his elder or one of the ministers on the subject, also the Ministerial Board, hereinafter provided, and after special prayer with him and an examination of his faith, the elder may submit the matter to the church for consideration, may set him apart as a minister by the common charge, if two-thirds of the members in council favor it. This action shall be considered as an election."[1]

The further procedure in election is carefully described in the Minutes of the same Conference:[2]

"The churches shall 'pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into his harvest' (Matt. 9:38), and shall study carefully their membership with the view of finding suitable young men for the ministry. Young people should be encouraged to take part in Sunday-school, Christian Workers' Meetings, and other church activities, and as suitable young men for the ministry appear, elections shall be held without delay.

"Election by the majority vote is desirable, and prayer and labor shall be freely given to make it possible. After the scriptures setting forth the qualifications of the ministry have been read and explained, and earnest prayer has been made for enlightenment and guidance, the vote of the church shall be taken. If one receives a majority of all the votes cast, he shall be declared elected. If no one receives a majority vote, at the judgment of the election board and the elder in charge, the one receiving the highest number of votes may be declared elected; or the facts may be reported to the church without giving names followed by fervent prayer for spiritual guidance; also further teaching, if thought necessary, and the vote of the church shall be taken again, and if one does not receive a majority vote, again another season of prayer may be engaged in, and another vote taken. This may be repeated once or twice, and if one does not receive a majority vote, and it seems not good to the election board and the elder in charge to declare an election with a plurality vote, the election may be declared off."

1. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1917, p. 5.
2. Op. cit., pp. 4 and 5.

Obviously by the method of choosing ministers, practiced by the Brethren, young men have been selected who show promise in personality, character, public address, and sincerity of purpose, and the wisdom and power of many of those who have been thus chosen through the years bear testimony that Providence guided their choices. It was no mere accident that men like Eld. John Cline, Eld. James Quinter, Eld. Andrew Hutchinson, Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh, Eld. J. W. Lear, Eld. H. C. Early and Dr. D. W. Kurtz were elected to the ministry in the Church of the Brethren—to mention only a very few who have been important figures in shaping the cultural trends among their churchmen.

But on the other hand, popular vote is not always a fair index of values. Hence many have been "called" by the church who were not prepared either in ability, experience or in spirit for the task of spiritual leadership of the group. Most of them were conscientious, however, and did the best they could. Others perhaps equally conscientious, but more humble and less certain that the hand of God directed the pencils of men, declined the "call." The leadership in some of the smaller churches has been pitifully weak as the result of this system of providing ministers. It is easy to see, too, how a congregation, dominated by a strong conservative influence, could propagate narrow culture patterns by safeguarding the selection of its ministers, much more easily than if young men voluntarily chose to become ministers and approached this work professionally, as in certain other denominations.

Having been elected to the ministry, those chosen are usually given some time to consider the matter, and if they "accept the call" their installation takes place at some appointed time. There is no grilling on matters of theology and beliefs, but a simple ceremony of recommittal of faith to the principles of the church and fidelity of purpose.

Once installed, a minister seldom has his official privileges revoked. Only in rare instances of immoral conduct or flagrant heresies has the sacred trust of the ministry been withdrawn. In this respect the Brethren ministry has kept remarkably free from the cheapening blot of criticism.

There has been a noticeable change in recent years in the attitude which young men of the church hold in regard to entering the ministry. Whereas formerly they waited for the church to call them before they made any serious effort to prepare for the work, now the young men who seem promising for the ministry are encouraged by Sunday-school teachers, ministers, and elders to enter college, and prepare themselves for the work of the ministry. In other words, men now seek the ministry instead of waiting for the church to seek them. This is a notable transition and is likely due in large measure to rising standards of preparation for the ministry being emphasized by the General Ministerial Board, and borrowing of customs used by other denominations. Quite a few Brethren young people have come under the influence of higher education in colleges and seminaries of other denominations during the last twenty-five years, and this has caused considerable culture fusion in attitudes toward religions. Likewise an organized movement which has been developed among the young people of the church to encourage training for religious leadership has undoubtedly aided in creating a positive attitude of approach to the ministry by young men and women of the present generation.

DEGREES OF MINISTRY

In the early days of the church, if a young man appeared to be a promising religious leader, he was ordained to preach. If he appeared to be a successful minister he was advanced to the eldership. Thus a minister was first an "exhorter" and then an elder.[3] Later the stages of advancement in the ministry were more closely defined, as first and second degrees, and then eldership. The official duties and limitations of each of these stages are here briefly summarized from a full statement in the Minutes of Annual Meeting of 1874:

1. When elected to the first degree, a minister was authorized to preach and exhort as an assistant to the elders and older ministers, conduct meetings in case the older ministers were absent, and announce regular appointments.

3. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 392.

2. When advanced to the second degree a minister was authorized to appoint meetings for preaching, administer baptism, perform the rite of marriage, and to serve communion when the elder was absent.

3. In the last degree—that of elder—he had the authority to install officers into the church, preside at council meetings and conduct communion services. The elder was the highest officer in each local church and if there were several, one was selected as presiding elder.[4]

The degrees of ministry were further revised by the Conference of 1917, as follows:[5]

"1. There shall be two degrees in the ministry, to be known as ministers and elders. All ministers who, at the time of the adoption of this report, are serving in the first and second degrees, shall be designated as ministers.

"2. The duties of the minister are to preach the Word, to administer baptism, to serve the communion in the absence of an elder or at his request; to solemnize marriage—in brief, to assist the elder faithfully in the general work of the ministry (Eph. 4:11, 12; 2 Tim. 4:1-5).

"3. The duties of the elder, in addition to the foregoing duties of the minister, are to feed the flock, to preside over council meetings, especially when official members are on trial, to anoint the sick, to have the oversight and general management of the church; training the young ministers in his charge and apportioning the work among them according to their experience and ability; in brief, to be a faithful shepherd to the flock, guarding their souls as one who must give an account, and be willing to serve in any capacity authorized by the church (Acts 20:28; 1 Tim. 5:17; Titus 1:5; James 5:14).

"4. When the minister proves himself faithful and efficient in his office, he shall be ordained elder; and, when ordained, he shall pledge himself to live and labor in harmony with the accepted standards of the church in faith, doctrine, and practice (1 Tim. 5:22; Titus 1:5; 1 Peter 5:3)."

In 1922, the Conference adopted a different plan for designating and promoting young ministers.[6]

"Brethren who are called by the church to preach, shall be licensed by the church to preach, but not to perform the other functions of the

4. Minutes of 1874, art. 8.
5. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting (1922), p. 62.
6. Op. cit., p. 65.

ministry until such time as the church and the District Ministerial Board shall decide to install them into the ministry. If they have not been installed within a year, the license may be renewed by the church from year to year, until such Brethren either accept and are installed into the ministry, according to previous decisions, or are discontinued as licensed preachers."

Thus at the present time the degrees of the ministry are (1) licentiate, (2) minister, (3) elder.

This last change, it will be noted, was made in the interest of a more carefully selected ministry by a trial period of service. By this plan those who are poorly qualified for the work of the ministry may be denied installation by the church. It is, therefore, a move toward greater efficiency in leadership.

Greater care is now being exercised also in promoting ministers. Whereas in former years the authority to install ministers and ordain elders rested with the elders of the local churches, the Conference of 1924, decreed

"That District Ministerial Board shall have in charge the ordination of ministers to the eldership, approved by the elders of the District, and the installation of ministers from the licentiates in accord with the Minutes of General Conference." [7]

WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY

There is some evidence which would indicate that women were admitted to the ministry at the very beginning of the Church of the Brethren. Dr. Brumbaugh quotes from a diary written by Alexander Mack, the second, the following: [8]

"Brother Jacob Schreder and his wife, the first woman elder of the 'gemeine.' After her husband's death she lived and served the 'gemeine' for seven years."

It is supposed that Alexander Mack, the founder of the church, ordained her into the ministry.[9]

Harriet Livermore, daughter of Judge Edward St. Leo Liver-

7. Handbook of Ministerial Decisions (Published by the General Ministerial Board, 1930), p. 19.
8. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 176.
9. Ibid., p. 177.

more, Justice of Supreme Court of New Hampshire, and later United States senator, was born an Episcopalian, later became a Congregationalist, and then, attracted by the simple modes of the Brethren people, was baptized to become one of them.[10] She became a minister and an eloquent speaker, and the means of many conversions, among whom was another woman who became a prominent Brethren preacher, Sarah Righter.[11] It was by this good woman, Sarah Righter Major, as she became by marriage, her husband also being a minister, that Abraham H. Cassel, the noted Brethren antiquarian and historian, was converted.[12]

Beyond this evidence just cited, there is not much reason to believe that women were chosen to the ministry to any considerable extent. In fact, preaching by women came to be looked upon with distinct disfavor. At the Annual Meeting of 1834, a question was raised "concerning a sister's preaching." The answer of the Conference was:

"Not approved of; considering such sister being in danger, not only exposing her own state of grace to temptation, but also causing temptations, discord, and disputes among other members."[13]

In 1891 a query came to Annual Conference[14] asking,

"By what authority are the wives of officials ordained and installed into office with their husbands?

"Answer of Annual Meeting: 'We do not ordain or install sisters into office, but receive them as helpmates to their husbands.'"

Elder Henry Kurtz, commenting in 1867 on woman's place in the church expressed it in this wise:[15]

"There is scarcely any church or society, beside our own, where the rights and privileges of the female sex are better regarded. Not to speak of those churches whose principles were established in the dark ages, when woman was considered as an inferior being, and even man-

10. Op. cit., pp. 187, 188.
11. Ibid., p. 188.
12. Ibid., p. 189.
13. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778 to 1909, p. 58.
14. Ibid., p. 539.
15. Henry Kurtz, Brethren Encyclopedia, p. 181.

hood groaned under the tyrannical sway of popes and priests. With us, the sisters are on a perfect equality with the brethren. The youngest sister's voice counts one and the oldest bishop's vote does not count more, in any ordinary question before the church, or in a choice for ministers or deacons. In all things, rights and privileges, there is no difference between the male and female portion of the membership, and the only exception is the service of the church, from which the sisters are exempted by the gospel, though the wives of ministers and deacons are also presented to the church, and charged to be helpers to their husbands in their service."

Thus for many years it was the attitude of the church that women should not become ministers. Even now the prevailing sentiment cannot be said to offer much encouragement for women to enter the ministry, Although by decision of Annual Conference in 1922,[16]

"Sisters, who are properly qualified may be licensed by the church to preach. These licenses may be renewed from year to year. When in the judgment of the church and the Ministerial Board, their work and interests justify it, they may receive permanent license to preach."

This changing attitude towards women in the ministry carries certain social implications. One could scarcely explain the change without conceding the influence of the modern, feministic movement, giving women active participation in almost every business and profession. The younger generation seeks more and more to establish equality between the sexes. Religious life is not exempt from the influence of this social transition.

The fact that all the Brethren schools are coeducational institutions naturally has a tendency to cultivate similar professional interests among the young men and women who come under their influence.

The nature of the program of religious education in the church creates much demand for women trained to teach religion. This, too, is a step in the direction of preaching religion.

Hence the democratic organization of the church and present

16. Revised Minutes (1922), p. 65.

day social forces have a tendency to draw women into ministerial activities.

By the last available figures there are now 32 women listed as ministers in the Church of the Brethren.[17]

TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY

As long as ministers were selected by popular vote of the local congregations, without much certainty as to where the choices were to fall, it is obvious that those selected were often unprepared to assume the responsibilities of the Christian ministry. Certainly no well organized program of preparation could be made to operate successfully when the young Brethren were taught to refrain from seeking these "preferred places" for themselves. To have done so would very probably have defeated their purpose in special preparation. The other alternative was to prepare for the ministry after election to office, and that is what many have tried to do. But there were no theological seminaries or Bible schools among the Brethren until late in the nineteenth century, and to attend institutions of other denominations was to invite condemnation for heresy. Then, too, these men had to make a living, for they were expected to serve the church freely without remuneration for services. The young minister in the early days had to study his Bible at home. Those who have seriously pursued that course, unaided, would no doubt testify that they could do none other than to look to God for their help.

Among the first generation of Brethren ministers, there were some well educated men and some powerful preachers who were educated in Germany, as was indicated in a preceding chapter. The next generation served a sort of apprenticeship under those elders. During the colonial period and up until the time of the Revolutionary War, the ministry in the Brethren Church compared favorably with other denominations in educational standards. But after the dispersion of the Brethren from their strongholds in Pennsylvania because of their refusal to take the oath of allegiance required by the Pennsylvania Colony, many

17. Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren, 1931, p. 94.

small congregations grew up on the frontier in other States. This created the need for more ministers and they were chosen. This has already been shown to be a period of "educational famine." Its strongest effect came through the uneducated ministry. The ministers of this period placed their major emphasis in preserving the principles and ideals taught by the first generation of elders. It is easy to understand, therefore, how and why Brethrenism lapsed into very conservative culture patterns, that tended toward dogmatism against which the pioneers of the faith had so vigorously revolted in Germany. The interpretation of doctrines, ordinances, principles and practices, even to minute details, was largely a process of trying to find and preserve the teachings of Alexander Mack and his contemporaries. Not until after the "revival of learning" following the establishing of a printing press by Henry Kurtz in 1851, did the Brethren show any marked tendency toward liberalization in culture forms.

The leadership during this period was inadequately trained to adjust the principles and practices of the church to the moral, social and spiritual needs of the new and expanding country. The church had adopted certain narrow culture patterns such as those previously described concerning modes of dress. Altogether it had suffered irreparable loss by the lack of an educated ministry.

It was largely the realization of this situation which led to the movement toward establishing many schools among the Brethren during the latter half of the nineteenth century. One of the major objectives was to provide for a trained ministry. This accounts for the fact that some of the first schools organized were called seminaries.[18] It was principally thru the efforts of a few men who dared to venture into the field of higher education in state institutions and colleges of other denominations that the new movement for an educated ministry was instigated.

It is a striking fact that when the schools began to turn out

18. See Educational Blue Book of the Church of the Brethren, p. 108.

some trained leaders—granting that it was meagre training for the most part—there was a noticeable reaction toward liberalization in the church. The Minutes of Annual Conferences during the last quarter of the nineteenth century are full of evidence of culture conflicts from within and without the bounds of the church. It is at the point of group conflicts that the cultural margins begin to shift. This is exactly what happened to the Brethren cultural patterns. They began to break down at certain points and expand at others, until at present it is difficult to define them as distinct from the culture forms of other denominations in many respects. This transition is in large measure the result of a better trained ministry. Without doubt cultural changes would have occurred without an educated ministry, but it is hardly conceivable that the Church of the Brethren could have survived, except thru a liberalized leadership developed through higher education.

This does not mean that all the Brethren ministers are now highly educated men. It simply indicates the trend of things. It should be added too, that the older ministers, whose educational opportunities were limited, but whose insight and vision were keen, laid the ground work for progress with steady hands. They too belong to the "trained ministry." And nothing that is said here is intended to disparage the remarkably fine work which has been done through the years by all those faithful men who, without any formal education, have done so much to create high ideals and worthy purposes among their people. They have simply achieved in spite of the educational policies of their group, or the lack of them.

It was not until 1905 that a seminary was founded in the Church of the Brethren solely for the purpose of training ministers and religious workers. Before that time, however, several of the older schools were offering Bible courses and were training young ministers. Bethany Seminary is now the only graduate divinity school in the Brotherhood, altho all of the Brethren colleges offer certain courses especially suited for ministerial students, along with liberal arts courses. The present

trend is definitely toward higher educational standards for the ministry, but at the present time there is no established minimum requirement of preparation.

The following statement concerning qualifications appears in the Conference Minutes of 1917:

"While we do not fix a standard of educational qualifications, we do encourage College and Biblical Training; when necessary, the church should assist in obtaining it. To those elected to the ministry, who cannot reasonably acquire said training, we recommend a Home Study course arranged by the Educational Board, the books to be secured through the Gish Committee. Those ministers who cannot avail themselves of these advantages, but who are rendering faithful service notwithstanding, are hereby encouraged to continue their faithful labors, and the church should give them her fullest support." [19]

According to a recent report from 107 churches,[20] in which there are 332 ministers, there are only 31 ministers, or 9.3 per cent who are graduates of theological seminaries.

The General Ministerial Board is alert to the urgent need for better trained ministers, as the following excerpt from its report to the Conference of 1929 would indicate:

"With the rapid advancement of educational attainments of the masses, it is highly essential that we develop and maintain a higher educational standard for our ministry. A commission is at work preparing such a standard, report of which will be made in the near future." [21]

PASTORS

Only recently have the churches begun to employ pastors and pay them for their services. The Church of the Brethren thru the years has depended upon a "free" ministry. That is, the ministers were expected to preach and officiate in the various capacities which naturally belong to the ministry without any remuneration from the church. This was based upon the belief that all Christian service should be voluntary and rendered freely, without price. To place a monetary value on the services

19. Handbook of Ministerial Decisions, 1930, p. 17.
20. See Appendix.
21. Minutes of Annual Conference, 1929, p. 17.

of the ministry was to cheapen and degrade it, and give it a worldly taint. Accordingly the ministers gave their services unstintingly and made their livelihood in business as did the lay members. The Brethren being mostly a rural people, the larger percentage of the ministers made their living by farming. Many of them have been very successful and prosperous farmers and have acquired excellent farms of large acreage. Many of these ministers have been the chief contributors toward building church houses, schools, supporting missionaries, and paying the general expense of the church.

On the other hand, there have been many conscientious souls who believed that all their time belonged to the church they loved, who lived in need, becoming subjects for charity in their later years.

Thus the Brethren ministry has never presented a very favorable appeal from a material standpoint. It has been a life of double duty.

The Annual Conference of 1880, concerning a paid ministry, went on record as follows:

"In regard to a paid ministry, we believe that it is not right in the sense for brethren to go and labor for churches in the hope of receiving money for services, and the offer of money as an inducement to brethren to preach, but to poor ministers who are faithful both in the doctrine and practice of the church, we would encourage giving towards their necessities; as also defraying the expenses of traveling in attending to church interests." [22]

This marked the beginning of the problem, for local congregations, of pastors, and their support.

Interest in education was growing rapidly and a number of the young people of the church were receiving advantage of higher education in the schools where training for religious leadership was emphasized. Along with trained leaders goes specialization of leadership in the local church. Ministers were made responsible for the active duties of the ministry in some of the churches. This tendency toward a paid and specialized

22. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, pp. 382, 383.

ministry is the natural outgrowth of the revival of education in the church, altho it did not become a really important issue in the church until after 1900.

A query came to Annual Conference in 1906, which indicates the development of a conscious need of organized support of ministers:

"Inasmuch as the cause of Christ is suffering in our beloved Brotherhood for the want of proper support of the ministry, we petition Annual Meeting of 1906, through District Meeting, to devise a plan or method by which the pastors and evangelists of our churches shall receive a gospel support that they may give themselves wholly to the work." [23]

A committee charged with the study of the problem raised in this petition, reported to the Conference of 1908 as follows:

"Answer: We recognize that, under the present unequal distribution of our ministry, too often needed help is not given, the work of the ministry is much hindered and the cause is made to suffer, because the ministry has these financial hindrances. But we also recognize that our ministry, as it stands in relation to the church today, is gradually undergoing material changes, and that any legislation or radical change, in advance of this movement we seem to be undergoing, would be injurious to the church and the sacred calling of our ministry.

"We therefore recommend that our Brotherhood exercise the utmost care and patience, while this conscious change is taking place. We need to be exceedingly careful in attempting to effect improvements along this line, when there seems to be an entire transformation coming over us, that our ministry does not fall from the high standard it has always held among our people, and degenerate into a class of hirelings, and thereby lose our power." [24]

In 1922 the Ministerial Board declared in a report to Annual Conference,

"We find pressing needs and possible dangers attending the present changes through which the church is now passing in regard to the supported ministry. These need to be carefully directed to avoid serious

23. Revised Minutes of Annual Meeting, with Appendix to 1907, Appendix, p. 57.
24. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 870.

hindrances which may imperil the highest interests for which the church is striving." [25]

With the impetus given it by higher education, the salaried pastor idea has rapidly become popularized thruout the Brotherhood until there are now 308 full time pastors, and 259 part time pastors,[26] or a total of 567 ministers serving churches as salaried pastors, either on full or part time. Thus more than half of the congregations are now served to some extent by pastors.

Since the Brethren are a rural people for the most part, the membership is not thickly enough settled to cause large memberships in many churches. It had been the policy of the Brethren until recently to establish small churches in order to serve small groups of members scattered in rural communities. These small units naturally are not able to employ and support pastors. The growth of the pastor idea, therefore, has been the means of reversing the older policy of organizing small churches and the trend now is toward consolidation of smaller churches or absorbing them into stronger units in which pastors can be supported. The General Ministerial Board recently recommended that " under normal circumstances congregations should have not less than from 150 to 175 members, before attempting to carry a full time pastoral program," and further stated that " more than half of our churches have less than that number." [27]

Since the District Ministerial Boards began to function in 1917 and the General Ministerial Board was organized in 1921, the business of preparing churches for pastors, and pastors for churches has been greatly facilitated. The Church of the Brethren may rightly be said to be in the midst of a complete transition in regard to her ministry. The changes are far-reaching in their effects, because they have to do with the formative influences of leadership.

Emphasis on higher educational standards for the ministry is causing the transition from " free " and uneducated ministry to

25. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1922, p. 31.
26. Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren, 1931, p. 49.
27. Minutes of 1929, p. 17.

salaried pastors with professional training. But it is naturally eliminating from active service, many ministers who were formerly sharing the duties of leadership in their local churches. In some instances these ministers are now shifting their efforts toward the development of weaker churches or mission points near by. In many instances, however, where a church employs a pastor the local ministers simply discontinue preaching and serve merely as helpers or assistants to the pastors. Obviously with 1,029 congregations and 2,735 ministers,[28] all the ministers cannot become pastors. With the group of churches able to support pastors limited to less than 500, it is evident that the readjustment must necessarily be gradual. But the "pastoral age" has dawned for the Church of the Brethren and the cultural standards are being set in terms of a salaried ministry with professional training. The problems of readjustment incurred by changes now taking place in the ministry are sounded by the General Ministerial Board in the following report to Annual Conference:

"A careful investigation shows that our ministerial question is an intricate one. It cannot be easily solved, nor can the solution be reached in a short period of time. By united and careful effort the work must be accomplished. We are yet far from an all round pulpit service for the churches and an adequate pastoral care for the membership. Many problems arise, some of which tend to check progress, while others must find their solution in a program of education.

"The whole question of supervision is a new experience for our church. Progress has been slow due to the fact that neither the church nor the ministry is committed to it in any large way. There is, however, a growing consciousness of its value and in the course of time, thru an educational campaign, it is believed both the church and the ministry will recognize its value. This matter must not be forced upon our church, but will come in time, through a sympathetic coöperation. Until such a time comes we need to encourage the fullest cooperation of the free ministry whenever such can be of service, to give encouragement and proper advancement to our ministry and to help the churches to feel the need of and provide for pastoral care."[29]

28. Yearbook of 1931, pp. 48, 49.
29. Minutes of 1929, pp. 16, 17.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY

There are now 2,735 ministers in the Church of the Brethren, 1,664 of whom are elders, 932 installed ministers, 107 licensed men, and 32 licensed women. There are 259 full time pastors and 308 part time pastors.[30]

During the period from 1900 to 1930 the church membership increased from 70,754 to 138,173,[31] an increase of 95.3 per cent. During the same period the number of ministers increased from 2,397 to 2,735, an increase of only 14.1 per cent.[32] These figures show the trend in decreasing proportion of ministers. Whereas in 1900 there was a proportion of one minister for every 29 members, the proportion is now one minister for every 50 members.[32]

The proportional decrease in the number of ministers is even more striking when the figures are compared for the last ten years of the above period. From 1920 to 1930, the membership increased from 114,418[33] to 138,173, or an increase of 20.7 per cent. During this ten year period the number of ministers actually decreased from 3,400 to 2,735; a decrease of 24.3 per cent.[32]

The emphasis upon professional training for young ministers and pastors will inevitably lower the average age for those holding pastorates, below that for the entire group of Brethren ministers. The Ministerial Board found that the average age of ministers in 1929 was 49.5 years.[34] By the evidence obtained by the writer from 107 churches recently,[35] in which there are 332 ministers, 28 per cent of them are reported to be under 40 years of age, and 10 per cent under 30 years of age.

A list of Brethren ministers was recently submitted to the

30. Yearbook for 1931, p. 49.
31. This figure is derived from a prorated annual increase from 1890 to 1906 as given in the Census of Religious Bodies for 1926.
32. See Yearbooks for 1922, p. 42, and 1931, p. 49.
33. This figure is derived from prorated annual increase from 1916 to 1926 as given in Census of Religious Bodies for 1926.
34. See Minutes for 1929, p. 18.
35. See Results of Questionnaire Study in the Appendix.

writer by Mr. Edgar M. Hoffer,[36] of Elizabethtown, Pa., giving the names of 97 ministers over 80 years old, and 169 over 75 years old. For their noble service in " free ministry " the prophet must have intended the words: " How beautiful upon the mountain are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." [37]

When these men were yet boys, Brethren ministers were accustomed to riding horseback for fifty miles or more to preach the Gospel, and they received no money for their services. At the present time there are Brethren pastors living in parsonages next door to their churches; preaching only to their own flocks; driving cars furnished by their churches for pastoral duties; and receiving comfortable salaries for their services. The cultural changes are unmistakable.

SOCIAL CAUSES OF CULTURAL CHANGES

The influence of education has already been pointed out as a culture determinant in the development of the ministry among the Brethren, and its influence is still effecting gradual evolution toward a professionalized ministry. It should be noted, too, that whereas the order of worship was formerly very democratic and informal under the régime of " free " ministers, there is a marked tendency toward more formality in procedure under the direction of well educated pastors.

It seems evident that the Brethren have borrowed strongly from other denominations in regard to pastoral care of churches. This is only natural because Brethren people have come into close contact with older churches which preceded them in pastoral methods. Diffusion of ministerial practices has come thru the open door of liberal education.

The explanation of changes in the ministry can hardly be complete without taking account of the influence of industrial changes on general church policies. The general acceptance of business policies of efficiency in administration and economics in operation

36. Mr. Hoffer has made it his business to compile statistics on Brethren ministers for some years.
37. Isaiah, 52:7.

have played a part in the reorganization of churches' administrative practices. It may be said to be a reflexive influence, but definitely effective. Other things being equal, a good pastor is a good business administrator.

The "spirit of youth" in the church may also be counted among the culture forces which have brought changes in the Brethren ministry. The young people becoming educated and familiar with the practices of other religious groups are demanding changes in keeping with the most current practices in religion. An active program to satisfy the desires and religious needs of the young people of the church demands efficient and capable leadership in administering the affairs of the church. The Church of the Brethren has found it expedient to heed the voice of her young people in this respect.

Thus the cultural changes in the Brethren ministry can be attributed very largely to social forces operating from without, inducing social adjustments within.

CHAPTER XI

THE BRETHREN FAMILY

The Brethren family of the early days was a unique institution. Located generally in the open country, Brethren homes were more or less isolated from the larger culture centers and from each other. Each family constituted its own culture center for the most part, and developed an independence and unity all its own.

The early conflict previously mentioned between Brethren culture patterns and the social customs and civic regulations, tended to induce cultural isolation of family units among the Brethren. Particularly was this true among those who settled in the undeveloped frontier country, where all the necessities of life had to be gathered and prepared from the raw materials. Each family produced its own food supply, made its own clothes, wrought out its own implements and tools, and set up its own system of regulations. Each member of the family was a part of an industrial, social, moral and religious organization, the functions of which were closely interwoven. Dominated principally by a religious faith with strong insistence upon the simple life, the family often exercised a stern and puritanic discipline upon its members.

The doctrine of simple living strengthened by the principle of nonconformity to the customs and habits of other peoples, led to the practice of stringent economy and habits of thrift. Each member of the family was a worker and producer, if old enough to work; and each child was initiated early in life into this society of producers. Garis says, "The virtues of these Germans (Pennsylvania Dutch) were economic virtues; invariably they have been characterized as quiet, industrious, and thrifty."[1]

1. R. L. Garis, Immigration Restriction, p. 9.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY

In those days of unlimited agricultural resources and broad acres of untilled land, there was a close correlation between the size of a family and its producing power. Large families had a better chance for prosperity than small ones, particularly where a goodly proportion of the children were boys. Hence economic conditions were favorable to large families. Old family Bibles bear evidence to the fact that ten and twelve were conservative numbers in counting the names of children recorded for many of the Brethren families of the early generations.[2] Elder John Naas, who was the chief figure in the Amwell Congregation in New Jersey until his death in 1741, had twenty children, all of whom were buried in the cemetery near by the Amwell church, with Eld. Naas and his wife.[3]

The graveyards around the older Brethren church houses reveal many family groups for which the fingers of two hands will not represent all the brothers and sisters. The writer knows of one prominent Brethren minister who is said to be the father of 22 children. Certainly the average size of the family among the Brethren people, from the early days until recently was relatively high as compared with the present average.

Being a conservative people, the Brethren have been slow, in many communities, to adopt social habits of neighboring groups who blaze the advanced trails of culture. Hence, the influence of recent tendencies toward birth control has been delayed longer among the Brethren than in American society in general. Their strict adherence to literal interpretation of the scriptures led the Brethren to believe that children are a blessing to the home, and a large family an evidence of God's favor. Any attempt, therefore, to prevent childbirth within the bonds of lawful marriage, was considered as a rejection of the blessing of Divine Providence and a condemnation to those who thus committed sin.

Under this philosophy they set up social controls and moral standards that have been almost severe in their application to

2. See F. J. F. Schontz, Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. 10, p. 53.
3. See Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 124.

the problems of social life. Anything which looked like tampering with the laws or conditions of life which were thought to be of divine origin fell under sweeping condemnation by the elders. The "fear element" in religion was resorted to oftentimes to inhibit immoral practices. Consequently the practice of abortion, infanticide, contraception, or birth control in any form, did not assume any great proportions among the Brethren people. This tends to bear out a statement recently made by W. S. Thompson to the effect that,

> "Religion has exerted its greatest influence on population numerically by restrictions and restraints on birth control, and has therefore greatly influenced population increase in certain areas under favorable economic conditions." [4]

Then, too, the Brethren have always been largely a rural people, living in productive regions where agricultural economy would encourage larger families than are usually found in urban communities. Likewise rural families have not suffered the deleterious and disorganizing effects of gainful employment of mothers and girls away from their homes in factories and industries as have urban families. Particularly is this true of the more prosperous rural and agricultural communities represented by the Brethren.

Another factor which may shed some light on the relative size of the Brethren family, is the close correlation which is now conceded to exist between the educational level and the birth rate because of the highly selective influences connected with higher education. It has been reasonably well established that the birth rate among peoples of the highly educated groups is comparatively low, and comparatively high among people of low educational levels.[5]

The causes working toward a declining birth rate are not inherent in the nature of education, but in the social conditions which accompany high educational attainment. Among those who participate in the higher forms of education marriage is delayed

4. W. S. Thompson, Population Problems, p. 10.
5. Gillin and Blackmor, Outlines of Sociology, p. 185.

longer, and a larger number remain unmarried than among American people in general, because of the high cost of education, and the relatively high cost of living for those who engage in it, and the social inconveniences of children and large families as relates to the modes of life engaged in by the highly educated groups.

It has been previously shown that education was sadly neglected among the Brethren for almost a century following the period of the Revolutionary War. The cultural lag which they naturally experienced because of the lapse in educational influences, has delayed cultural adjustments in recent years as affecting family life. Hence the size of the family among the Brethren has probably decreased more slowly than the average for the American family in general, during the last few generations, due to "cultural lag" because of retarded educational progress. But rapid cultural assimilation thru recent developments in higher education, and economic pressure which has become increasingly severe in its effects, especially upon rural peoples since the World War, have worked together in recent years to lower the average size of the Brethren family, as they have also with other religious groups whose conditions have been similar. At any rate the large family of children in this generation of Brethren families is the exception rather than the rule. Statistics are not available to make a comparative study of the exact proportions of change in the average size of the family among the Brethren, but it seems evident that there has been a very decided decrease in the average size of the family during the last few generations. That means that the youngest generation of parents at the present time, will have few children as compared with their forefathers. The birth rate among the Brethren now will very probably conform closely to the average for the country at large. This marks a significant cultural transition among the Brethren and indicates rather clearly the leveling influences of modern culture.

There are at present 51,188 families represented in the Brotherhood,[6] with a total membership of 138,173. There is thus an

6. See the Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren, 1931, p. 49.

average of 2.7 members for each family. It must be remembered, however, that these figures do not account for the persons of these families who are not church members. This will practically exclude all children below ten years of age since very few children under ten have become members. According to the 1920 census 21.7 per cent of the population of the United States was under ten years of age. Expanding the Brethren population by this ratio to include 21.7 per cent under ten years old, the average number of persons in each family would be 3.4. Expanding this figure still further to include the members of the families ten years of age and over that are not members of the church the actual average size of the family is probably nearer five.

THE HOME LIFE

The home has furnished the chief environment for religious, moral, economic, and social adjustment for the Brethren thru the years. Their doctrines of nonconformity caused them to draw in the cords of social contact, especially among the young people, and confine their social life largely to the family group. It was chiefly on this ground that education was looked upon with disfavor over a long period of time in Brethren history. For many years the home was the church, the school, the place of worship, and the playground, for those who lived in it. The "family altar" was an essential feature of it and the daily routine included regular scripture reading worship. The home without daily family worship was considered to be without true Christianity. In a special way the homes among the first few generations of Brethren became the religious centers of life, because all religious services were held in the homes of the members before 1770, somewhat in rotation and long after that in some communities. Falkenstein fittingly speaks of the Brethren home of that early period, as "a sanctuary."[7] Naturally the environment of the home under those conditions was strikingly religious. This was an actual case of "bringing religion home" to the young people. Religious experience thus became a very personal matter to those whose homes were frequently places of group worship.

7. Falkenstein, History of the German Baptist Brethren, p. 49.

Frequent exchange of visits between families was a social practice freely engaged in until very recently. The writer well remembers when Sunday was visiting day. After the usual Sunday morning services at the church in the community those who lived near by would begin to extend cordial invitations to dinner, and a dinner it really was. Much preparation had been made on Saturday. A bountiful supply of food was provided for many visitors, and the feast was usually well attended.

These visiting occasions furnished opportunities for social contacts under very favorable conditions for strengthening the bonds of common interests and for the exchange of hospitality which no other institution has provided since that day. It had its distinctive culture value. But with the transition from horse and carriage to automobile, distances from one community to another were reduced, and one can now attend church twenty or thirty miles from home and yet return home for luncheon. Likewise the improved means of transportation have filled the Sunday with many activities, both of religious missions and of recreational nature, so that the "Sunday visit" of families with each other has become extinct as a Brethren institution in most communities.

In the past, social satisfaction of rural peoples have been limited largely to the family group, especially among individualistic people and socially restricted groups.[8] A large family naturally had some advantages in creating and preserving social and spiritual values.[9] It contributed to a happy home and a more stimulating environment in which to learn the virtues of social life. There are numerous instances in communities inhabited largely by Brethren people, where a prosperous father has acquired a large acreage of land and divided it among his children. This was the surest means of keeping the children at home. The ownership of property was almost a sure guarantee in the control of interests. The children usually married in neighboring families and settled near the "old home place." In this manner

8. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 86.
9. Thompson, Population Problems, p. 414.

family ties were not broken in some groups for several generations, except by death.

The rapid development of communication and transportation facilities and the recent urbanization of rural communities have served to diversify the interest of the young people, and family groups now tend to disintegrate.

The writer was recently with a friend during a drive through a fertile valley where Brethren people have owned most of the land for more than a century. The friend was a native of that valley, and a member of a large and prosperous and influential family. He pointed out adjoining farms extending for several miles, which had only changed hands by inheritance for several generations, and the family name of the owners has only changed by marriage. My friend had made the striking observation that the farms in that community are not so productive as they used to be under the management of the fathers and grandfathers of this generation of farmers. He suggested by way of explanation that the family stock in that community must be deteriorating.

In the absence of sufficient evidence to prove my friend's explanation biologically, the following sociological explanation might be offered: (1) Through the development of good roads and rapid transportation facilities, community interest in the rural community have been scattered geographically, and decentralized industrially so that there is a wider spread in the rural home interests, and less concentration of efforts on the farm. (2) Changing modes of industrialism require more and better equipment on the farm. Factories and industries have drained the better class of farm laborers and lowered the productive efficiency of the farm. Closer competition with urban industries necessitates shorter hours of work and more opportunity for recreation. (3) As the people have become educated and have gone out of the community to attend colleges and universities they have become less satisfied with the conditions of farm life and have left the management and care of the farms in the hands of tenants, while they engage in other pursuits or have moved away to the village or town or city. In many instances the "old home place"

is sold, and the members of the family group are widely scattered. Professor E. A. Ross strikes a significant note in social causation when he says, "Frequently the loss of even the best tenth will cut down by fifty per cent the effective support the community gives to higher interests."[10]

At any rate, there is a marked tendency toward the disintegration of these family groups which used to grow large, live close together, and develop close culture patterns.

It is obvious that the home has served fundamentally as the chief culture-carrying institution among the Brethren people because of their practice of closely confined social contacts among their own kind over a long period of years. It has served as "psycho-social bridge between the generations whereby ideas, attitudes, customs, codes, social habits, and other important institutional elements are transmitted."[11]

In recent years, however, the rural community has undergone radical changes which have caused cultural developments that are revolutionary. Rapid urbanization and industrialization of rural life in practically all important agricultural regions have rendered cultural isolation impossible. With good roads, automobiles, telephones and radios, Brethren people are losing their cultural identity in the "milieu" of modern civilization. The homes are equipped with electricity and household conveniences, eliminating much of the tiresome labor which filled their days with toil. More and better farm equipment has increased the producing power on the farm and diversified agricultural industries, which in themselves become avenues for social progress. The whole social setting, in which Brethren culture patterns of home life originated and developed, has changed and has taken on new cultural possibilities. The isolated rural home is no longer socially satisfying. It is futile to assume that the Brethren can longer remain a "separate people" under these conditions.

MARRIAGE

There was some confusion among the earliest Brethren as to

10. The Social Trend, p. 45.
11. Hertzler, Social Institutions, p. 162.

whether marriage or celibacy constituted the state of greater purity, and divine sanction. A number of the early Brethren were celibates.[12] It is probable however that this practice can be attributed to the influences of certain mystics of the early church, who like Conrad Beissel, encouraged celibacy and taught that marriage originated with the "fall of man" and was therefore sinful. Most of the celibates belonged to that period and followed Beissel to Ephrata where they became affiliated with his society of mystics. Christopher Sower's wife was a convert of that movement, altho she later returned to her husband and repented of her error.

It would seem that the practice of celibacy was carried over into the early Brethren group from the Catholic church as a remnant of formalism and dogma. It did not survive long, however, and should not be considered as an accepted practice among the Brethren at any time.

Alexander Mack was quite plain and positive in his teaching concerning celibacy, though he recognized the problem as a live issue in his "plain views,"[13] in answering the question, "under the new covenant, whether believers are permitted to marry, or how is that matter to be regarded?" His answer was,

"The Lord God himself instituted matrimony in Paradise as the Lord Jesus said to the Pharisees, 'Have ye not read, that he who made them in the beginning, made them male and female, and that they should be no more twain, but one flesh?'

"We can easily see that God would have his people to live pure and chaste in matrimony. Now under the New Testament, should not be less, but rather more sacredly observed. . . .

"In no other manner has matrimony been instituted and blessed, than has been stated according to Holy Writ. But where there are people who marry for the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or for the sake of riches, and do not look upon the unity of faith in Christ, such matrimony is under the curse and is justly to be rejected by true believers. It is also not legitimate in the house or church of the Lord, and always has been punished by God . . ."

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12. Brumbaugh, History of the Brethren, p. 149.
13. Mack, "Plain Views on the Rights and Ordinances of the House of God," Brethren Encyclopedia, pp. 89-93.

The marriage bond has always been considered, therefore, as a sacred rite among the Brethren, and great concern has been given to the problem of conserving the marriage relationship in sanctity and purity. Consequently, the Minutes of Annual Conferences of the church record over fifty decisions concerning marriage and divorce, from 1778—or the time when recorded minutes began to be preserved—to 1900. Since 1900 practically nothing has been recorded affecting the regulation of marriage or divorce, altho it is in the period since 1900 that the most significant changes have occurred in family culture patterns.

THE "BAN"

The custom of publishing the "bans" was practiced early by the Brethren. This was a custom, probably brought over from Germany, where the Catholic church required the "bans" or notice given in a church of an intended marriage, "that those who know of any impediment thereto may state it to the proper authorities."[14]

In 1804, the Annual Meeting of the Brethren rendered a decision as follows:

"It was concluded, in concord and union, that ministers should be uniform in solemnizing marriage according to the law of our country, by publishing the bans of every couple three times, and this in the section where they live or reside, as near as possible, so that if there were any sufficient cause of impediment of such intended marriage, it might be brought to light, and all things be conducted decently and in order."[15]

Again in 1819, the question arose as to

"Whether a member is permitted to marry without the counsel of the church, and without publishing the bans?

"Answer: We know that all who have entered into covenant of grace have promised also to receive counsel, and it seems to us, in such an important matter as marriage is, we should by all means seek counsel of our fellow believers. And concerning the publishing of the bans, it is our loving counsel, and daily experience teaches us, that it is

14. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, vol. 1, p. 444.
15. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 25.

very good to hold a good order inasmuch by publishing the bans many an accusation is cut off, while on the other hand much deception is prevented, which would have free course without the bans."[16]

SIMPLE MARRIAGE RITES

In keeping with the doctrine of the simple life, efforts were made to safeguard the occasions of marriage with an atmosphere of holiness and simplicity, and the Brethren were inclined to look askance upon the marriage of members by other than Brethren ministers. In 1819, to the Annual Conference there came a query asking:

"How is it considered, that Brethren receive other preachers into their houses in order to solemnize the marriage of their children after the manner of the world?"[17]

The answer of the Conference was:

"Considered, that matrimony is a solemn matter, whether we commence it with or without a blessing, and hence we think we should have so much love for our children as to be concerned that they might enter upon that state with a blessing; and we believe no man can communicate such but he that is animated by the Holy Spirit by whom he will also be led into all truths. Hence we should have our children married by a brother who is authorized to do it, with a blessing and brief exhortation also without too great superfluity of meat and drink, so that we can believe to be pleasing to God—for all extravagance is sin."

In this connection the decision of 1827 regarding housewarmings and receptions held in honor of married couples is pertinent. A query asked:

"Whether we may be allowed to hold infares?

"Answer: Considered that it (such things) belong to pride, and vanity and should not be among members."[18]

This expressed attitude of disapproval toward any social display in connection with the sacred matrimonial rites, belongs to the period a century past, but there still may be found in certain

16. Ibid., pp. 42, 43.
17. Ibid., p. 42.
18. Revised Minutes, 1778-1909, p. 51.

of the more conservative communities a few who are loath to sanction such social accompaniments to marriage.

WAS THE MINISTER PAID?

It was observed in the preceding chapter that Brethren ministers were, until recent years, expected to render all services of their ministry free of charge. As a sort of forced corollary to this principle, the church sought to prevent ministers from receiving money for performing marriage ceremonies. This was a difficult matter to control, however, because of the service rendered.

In 1827 the question came to Conference:

"Concerning taking pay for solemnizing marriage and preaching funeral sermons."

The answer of Conference was:

"It is unanimously considered, that it should not be among brethren." [19]

By 1848, the sentiment had become somewhat modified on this matter as is indicated in the following query and answer:

"Whether a brother may be allowed, according to the gospel, to take pay (when offered) for performing the ceremony of marriage?

"Considered that this meeting cannot advise brethren to take a fee, and would leave it, as a matter of conscience to the ministering brother, with the advice of the church in which he lives." [20]

This decision was reiterated in 1855, but the matter continued to be agitated, and the Conference of 1857 recorded the following:

"How is it considered, if ministering brethren take as much as ten dollars as a fee for performing the marriage ceremony; and does the gospel allow ministers a fee under any circumstances?

"Answer: The gospel does not allow a minister to take a fee."

It will be noted that this decision turned on the general principle of ministers seeking remuneration for their services rather than on the marriage fee.

Like other problems concerning the ministry this one has found

19. Revised Minutes, 1778-1909, p. 51.
20. Ibid., p. 98.

its natural solution in the fusion of culture from outside sources until, thru the general evolution of culture patterns, this problem was swallowed up and without further decisions, the practice which was once condemned is now freely sanctioned and generally observed.

CHURCH WEDDINGS

Altho marriage rites were held as sacred and their religious sanction was based upon New Testament authority, the marriage ceremony did not take place in the church among the early Brethren. The home of the bride was the scene of this religious rite. This is not strange when one remembers that the Brethren home was originally, and long continued to be, the center of religious activities, and by the time this function was transferred to the church, marriage had taken on certain social accompaniments such as wedding feasts, infares, ministers being paid for performing the ceremonies, etc., until many Brethren questioned the holiness of such marriages and objected to the use of the house of God for such affairs. Culture is contagious, however, and the young people have always succeeded in leavening the "cake of custom." Hence the Brethren church houses in many communities are now the scenes of elaborately decorated marriage altars. Some are beautiful for the simplicity of the setting, and some are magnificently beautiful. But both are evidence that the marriage customs have changed.

INTERMARRIAGE

In the days when small groups of Brethren were settled in isolated communities where social contact with peoples of other groups was uncommon, the children of a few families married and intermarried from generation to generation, until some of those communities became populated with closely intermarried stock. It is not uncommon to find Brethren communities today where two or three family names have predominated for four or five generations and constitute the majority of inhabitants of their respective communities. By continued intermarriage the blood of these few families has become mixed until close blood relationship exists between husband and wife in many families.

While it is probably impossible to obtain evidence to prove the social effects in these inbred communities, biologists have produced evidence to show the hereditary hazards involved in close intermarriage. The following statement by Professor H. S. Jennings of Johns Hopkins University, expresses the current opinion of eminent zoölogists concerning the problem:

"The second maxim of family eugenics is that close relatives should not mate. Close relatives are persons who have gotten a considerable proportion of their genes from the same ancestors. If some of these genes were defective, as is very probable, in view of the commonness of defective genes, then the two relatives will have certain defective genes in common. Their mating may then bring together two defective genes, into the same pair, resulting again in imperfect offspring. The danger of this, of course, decreases as the degree of relationship decreases. In families known to bear important defects, all mating between even distant relatives should be avoided. In families without indication of serious gene defects the mating of cousins, for example, is not likely to result in the production of imperfect offspring."[21]

Even if there could be no possible deterioration in the stock biologically, through the process of group intermarriage, the effects upon the cultural life of such groups, are undoubtedly damaging. Cultural inbreeding generates a sort of self-sufficiency within a group of people which guards its cultural patterns against the impact of new ideas and social practices that may challenge its own. Thus failure to prime the veins of culture with new blood, which carries the possibilities of cultural enrichment, creates social confinement with definite limitations on community progress.[22] A sort of "cultural incest" sets in.

It seems quite plausible that the disadvantages of intermarriage may have influenced to some extent the slow rate of progress which some Brethren communities have experienced in social adaptation and cultural change.

According to the recent report from the 107 churches, previously mentioned, an average of 60.3 per cent of the Brethren young people marry within their own home communities and

21. Jennings, Biological Basis of Human Nature, p. 232.
22. See, A. J. Todd, Theories of Social Progress, p. 334.

55.5 per cent of them remain in the communities of their childhood even yet.[23]

DIVORCE

The Brethren have always strictly opposed divorce as a violation of the teachings of the New Testament. If husband and wife could not live together in peace they were considered by the early Brethren as unfit for membership in the church which was established by the Prince of peace. Consequently they summarily excommunicated members who secured divorce for any cause save one, and that was fornication. If either husband or wife committed adultery, the other member of the marriage contract was considered justified in securing divorce, and the offender was excommunicated. But even in this case the divorcee must remain unmarried, unless he or she reunited with the one from whom divorced.

Elder Henry Kurtz expressed the attitude of the early Brethren toward divorce in the following summary statement:

"From all the gospel teaches, as here stated (referring to Matt. 5:31, 32; 19:3, 9; Mark 10:2-9; Luke 16:18; Rom. 7:1-3; 1 Cor. 7:10, 11) our brethren could not come to any other conclusion but the following: That in the New Testament there is no warrant at all for a divorce with a view to marriage, or to marrying again; that in the exceptional case, where fornication has been committed by the one party, the innocent party may separate from the guilty, but is to remain unmarried, or be reconciled again to the former companion, upon repentance shown by genuine fruits; that the church of Christ is bound by the above stated declaration of Christ and his apostles to guard and testify against the increasing evil of frequent divorces in our land, by discountenancing and disallowing any transgression of the law of Christ in this respect, as far as our own members are concerned."[24]

By a decision in 1862, the church refused to hold in fellowship any member who married a divorced person, if the one to whom that person was formerly married was still living.[25] Considerable agitation arose from time to time for a reconsideration

23. See Appendix.
24. Kurtz, Brethren Encyclopedia (1857), p. 90.
25. Minutes of 1862, article 28.

of the question of divorce. There was much discussion, but never a majority favoring divorce for any other cause except "for the cause of fornication." Matt. 5: 32.

There is on record, however, one exception to this rule of the church, where in 1880 the Annual Conference received a query which read:

"A sister departs from her unbelieving husband and procures a bill of divorce on the ground of cruel treatment, can she retain her membership in the church, while holding in her possessions the bill of divorce, providing she remains unmarried?

"Answer: Yes, she can." [26]

The previous decision on the single cause for divorce was reiterated again in 1898, when the Conference adopted the report of a committee which had been appointed to study the whole question and make recommendations. The report follows:

"The New Testament teaches: (1) That a divorce cannot be obtained except 'for the cause of fornication.' Matt. 5:32. (2) That 'whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication and shall marry another, committeth adultery.' Matt. 19:9.

"We therefore decide that no divorced person having married again while a former companion is living can be received into the church unless it can be clearly shown that said companion was put away because of fornication.

"All the churches are hereby urged to exercise the utmost care in applying this decision in all cases of divorce, and to do everything possible to uphold and maintain the sacredness and purity of the marriage relation." [27]

This decision still stands as the voice of the church on the divorce problem, but like some other regulations laid down by the church in the past, it is no longer observed strictly by all congregations. The fact that divorces have occurred in recent years, for other causes than fornication, and the problem has not been reconsidered but the divorcees have not been excommunicated, is evidence that there is some change in the general attitude of the church toward this problem. The general tendency

26. Minutes of 1880, article 22.
27. Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1778-1909, p. 669.

toward tolerance of changing culture patterns within the church is having its effect in regard to the problem of divorce.

Certain influences have tended to keep the divorce rate low among the Brethren. In the first place, positive teaching against divorce, based on definite New Testament statements regarding it, has caused divorce to be considered morally wrong and socially disgraceful.

In the second place, the Brethren being largely a rural people, where family life is more quiet and conservative and less likely to be disturbed by the disintegrating forces found in urban society, the family ties have undergone less strain than in the cities where culture conflicts are most keenly felt.

In the third place, the moral and ethical standards are generally conceded to be of a high order among the Brethren, and these have functioned with sufficient strength to prevent conditions conducive to divorce.

Finally, the positive teaching against an individual "going to law" against another for any reason whatsoever, has always been a vital element in Brethren doctrine. Applicants for baptism are instructed concerning the peaceful settlement of differences and avoidance of going to law against another. The Brethren, therefore, have developed a deep-seated principle which operated to avoid the necessity of resorting to the law in the settlement of differences between individuals.

These forces have operated to prevent a high divorce rate, by encouraging Christian grace, tolerance and compatibility in family life.

On the other hand, the liberalizing influences which are bringing about cultural changes in the church are counteracting these forces to some extent and it can safely be said that broken homes are increasing among the Brethren by divorce and separation but not so rapidly as in the United States as a whole.

Those who are familiar with the difficulties involved in making an accurate statistical analysis of the social problems in any religion will realize that accurate data concerning divorce among the Brethren as a separate group are hard to obtain. A few

figures were recently secured by the writer, however, upon which some comparative estimates can be based.

In response to the writer's inquiry concerning divorce the pastors and elders of 107 churches have reported 128 divorces known to have occurred among the members of their churches thru the years, and 50 separations without divorce.[28] During the last ten years, 77 divorces are reported from these 107 churches, and 29 separations without divorce.

During the last five years 40 divorces have occurred and 27 separations without divorce.

The total membership of these 107 churches is 17,018. The total membership of the Church of the Brethren is 138,173. These 107 churches, therefore, constitute 12.3 per cent of the entire membership. Hence to expand the results reported by these 107 churches to represent the entire Brotherhood, on the percentage basis just indicated, the following results would be obtained:

Total number of divorces	1,041
Total number of separations	407
Total divorces and separations	1,448

During the last ten years, 1922 to 1931, inclusive, a total of 625 divorces have occurred, or an average of 62.5 divorces per year. During that period the average total membership for the ten year period was 124,616. This gives an average rate of .5 divorce per 1,000 of Brethren population. The average divorce rate for the United States as a whole during the ten year period from 1920 to 1929, inclusive, was 1.54 divorces per 1,000 of total population.[29]

During the last five years there have been 325 divorces among Brethren, or an average of 65 per year. The average total Brethren population for this five year period was 132,980. This

28. See Appendix.
29. See Special Report by Bureau of Census on Marriage and Divorce, 1929 (published 1931), p. 15, table 9.

gives a divorce rate of .49 per 1,000 members. The average for the United States during the five year period 1925 to 1929 inclusive, was 1.6 divorces per 1,000 of total population.

It is clear, therefore, that the divorce rate among the Brethren during the last ten years is about one-third as high as the rate for the country as a whole; and during the last five years, only about one-fourth as high as the rate for the United States.[30]

It will be noted, however, that the computed divorce rate for the Brethren shows a decrease during the last five years as compared with the figures for the period of ten years. This seems strange in the light of the fact that the divorce rate for the country as a whole is gradually increasing, as indicated above.[30] The figures for separations without divorce shed some light on this declining divorce rate. Computed on the basis of figures reported by the 107 churches, 236 separations without divorce have occurred among Brethren members, or an average of 23.6 per year, or .19 separation per 1,000 members. Of these 236 cases of separation, 220 have occurred during the last five years, or an average of 44 per year during the last five years. This gives an average rate of separation of .33 per 1,000 during the last five years, which is almost twice as high as the rate for the ten year period. This indicates that the rate of separation is rapidly rising while the divorce rate has gradually lowered.

The actual trend regarding the disintegration of Brethren homes is revealed more clearly by comparing the figures on divorce and separation combined for the last ten years and the last five years.

During the last ten years, by the above figures there has been an average of 62.5 divorces and 23.6 separations per year, or a combined average of 86.1 divorces and separations annually. This gives .69 divorce and separation combined, per 1,000 Brethren members.

During the last five years the yearly average of 65 divorces and 44 separations makes an average of 109 divorces and separations combined for the five year period. This gives an average com-

30. Ibid.

bined rate of .82 divorce and separation per 1,000 Brethren population.

Thus the combined rates show an increase during the last five years of 17 per cent over the rate for the ten year period, and this increase must be accounted for by the increased number of separations, without divorces.

The sociological explanations for this trend would seem to be in terms of culture conflict and attempted adjustment. Divorce is officially condemned and forbidden, except for fornication by the Brethren cultural code. The actual cultural pattern, however, judged by what is really happening, is following rather closely the general trend of culture patterns concerning marriage and breaking the bonds of marriage. But legalized divorce is religiously condemned and socially disgraceful in Brethren society. Family incompatibility, therefore, tends to follow the line of least resistance in social adjustment, which is apparently separation without entering into legal procedure, as the lesser of two evils, culturally.

Another possible explanation might be offered on the basis of economic factors controlling divorce. It is generally conceded among sociologists that securing a divorce is an expensive procedure. It is obviously more difficult, therefore, for persons in the lower and middle classes economically, to pay the costs involved in securing divorce, than for those who belong to the wealthy class. Divorce is economically selective. The majority of the Brethren people fall in the so-called middle class to whom the costs of litigation usually become either prohibitive or inhibitory.

It is possible also that the acute agricultural depression from which we are just beginning to emerge has affected the Brethren divorce rate to some extent since the majority of them are dependent upon some form of agriculture for their living.[31] Had this extended depression not occurred, it is probable that the divorce rate would have reached a higher level in proportion to the rate for the United States as a whole.

31. See statistical chart in the Appendix.

It seems clear, therefore, that such social forces as cultural liberalization, emancipation of women, individualism, industrialism, higher education, etc., which are causing family disintegration in modern society, are also having their influence on the Brethren family, and producing cultural changes in its organization and functions which closely resemble the general culture trends. The most noticeable difference seems to be in the degree and rate of change rather than in kind and direction. The difference in rate of change can be explained on the basis of inherent ethic and cultivated conservatism in the past, and the strong emphasis on the principles of nonconformity and simple living. The cultural assimilation of youth has furnished a positive avenue for diffusion of culture from one group to another, until a Brethren family group has largely become a typical American family.

CHAPTER XII

CULTURAL TRENDS AMONG THE BRETHREN

A study of the preceding chapters will reveal some revolutionary cultural transitions in the Church of the Brethren. From its humble beginnings as a little group of practical religionists reacting against the nationalized churches of Germany, and tossed about on a turbulent sea of theological wreckage and political froth, this little sect has been transformed thru successive cultural processes into a liberalized progressive religious denomination, grappling successfully with the problems of modern civilization.

In Colonial America its patterns were molded into form by experimental religion, where it became a pioneering agricultural group. Its modes and customs took form in the environment of the frontier culture. Scattered by persecution for their faith, the Brethren found peace and prosperity in fertile lands, isolated from the culture currents of their day. Conservatism, individualism, and culture decay, were the products of that period. A rising tide of education, industrialism, and urbanization of rural life, has in turn necessitated changes in the patterns Brethren live by, but these changes have occurred so gradually under the stress of "cultural flow" that the Brethren themselves can hardly tell just when and where and how. Old lines of cleavage are growing indistinct between Brethren and other religious groups. Cultural diffusion has enriched the social heritage of all denominations. "The transition from cultural heterogeneity to cultural homogeneity on the part of the American people is reflected in the tendency of the various churches to accept a common attitude toward doctrine, a common piety, and a common type of worship." [1]

The social structure of any religious group is anchored definitely in the social background of forces, of which religion is but

1. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 270.

one among the rest. Assuming that there is very little change in doctrines and beliefs, there still remains the continuous evolution in social, economic, and political forces, which gradually but surely reshapes the culture patterns of religious groups. Niebuhr is bold in the statement that the church in general, " from its position of leadership in the task of integrating humanity it has fallen to the position of follower in a social process guided by economic and political forces."[2] This social process has rendered old culture traits obsolete and socially condemned. Groups which have attempted to preserve their old customs and social patterns have found themselves trailing the advance of civilization. Only those groups which have allied themselves closely with the driving forces of modern culture have been able to survive the function in a normal way.

The rural church of the frontier days represented group culture in its most stable form. The Brethren Church belonged to the frontier rural type. But the rural church is no longer distinctly rural. As Beers has recently expressed it,

> " With due allowance for cultural lag, we shall expect to find it following the social and economic changes of its milieu. Mode's outline of the church's major adaptations illustrates its evolutionary nature.[3] Christianity was Hellenized in the Grecian culture, imperialized at the hand of Rome, Feudalized during the Middle Ages, thereafter nationalized, and finally in America, 'frontierized.' But frontier conditions are no longer shaping rural life in this nation. The rural church is now undergoing 'de-frontierization.' Expanded technologies, changes in communication, accelerated mobility, have brought the farmer a new life. The farmer's church now exists in an environment of greater variety to activity, greater range to thought, higher standards and scales of living, and greater awareness of class differences."[4]

Rural isolation is no longer a barrier to the cultural growth of the people who inhabit the open country. There are numerous roads and crossroads of communication among the different social groups and classes, until there are no distinctive group patterns.

2. Ibid., p. 264.
3. Peter G. Mode, The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity, chap. 1.
4. Publication of Amer. Sociological Soc., Yearbook of the Section on Rural Sociology, Nov. 1931, p. 11.

The thots, experiences, and contributions of all peoples are now the common property of all, to use as they will. Culture dissemination is more intensive and rapid and sure than at any time in the history of the race. Diffusion is inevitable and amalgamation of ideas, customs, and modes of life, is sure, altho silently and almost imperceptibly active.[5] Evolution of religious modes and practices is only one phase of the larger social process in the changing order of things. Any given denomination, to be a vital working unit in the process of shaping the future trends of civilization, will need to draw freely from the common currents of culture, which carry the accumulated experiences of mankind. "The problem of the world is the problem of a synthesis of culture."[6]

This interpretation does not necessitate the annihilation of group patterns. It simply emphasizes the necessity of an orderly synthesis of them. Religious groups can retain their identity and develop distinctive culture patterns. But only the patterns of life which provide for useful social adaptations can have a fair chance to survive. And if they are useful and adaptive they soon become a part of world culture. Dixon expressed this same idea when he said, "Cultures of the future will differ, in one respect at least, from those of the past for they cannot be as sharply cut, as individual."[7] Privacy is becoming more and more impossible for groups as well as persons. Any highly adaptive and useful culture trait soon becomes common property, and usually the common element of many culture patterns of many groups.

Thus progressive denominationalism and narrow culture forms are no longer compatible. The church which would make its contribution to present day civilization needs to keep pace with the major social trends. Society depends largely on science and education for its evaluations of things material and secular. It has a right to depend on religious organizations for the scientific evaluation of things moral and spiritual. This places definite responsibilities upon each religious group to prove the validity

5. See Dixon, Building of Cultures, p. 295.
6. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 266.
7. Building of Cultures, p. 303.

and utility of its principles and practices toward making worthy contributions in elements of culture.

The phenomenal cultural expansion which the Church of the Brethren has experienced during the last few decades, has put it abreast with the modern trends of culture. Its culture patterns are yielding to the social "milieu." Ultraconservatism and dogma have no effective hold on the church in its vital processes at the present time. The growth and development which the church has experienced are indicative of cultural regeneration thru which it has gained release from the confinements and limitations of old cultural controls. Hence it has within itself the potential power to attain new levels in creative culture.

There are certain Brethren principles and practices which have stood the tests of time and experience from the beginning of the Brethren as a separate group of people up to the present time. Many of the original customs and beliefs have been eliminated, lost, or modified, by one process or another. But the fact that certain culture traits and patterns have been retained as essential characteristics of the group, without much change, thru all the stages of growth and transformation, would seem to be sufficient grounds for the conclusion that such factors have inherent cultural value and possibilities. The mere survival of some social habit or custom, however, does not necessarily signify permanent value, unless it has been shown to possess some cultural utility. Thus the principle of nonconformity to the accepted behavior patterns of the community or state; the peculiar modes of dress; the refusal to pay ministers for their services; the prevention of the use of musical instruments in the churches; and other like culture traits survived for two centuries as distinctive group characteristics among the Brethren. But finally they were discarded as having no permanent value or cultural utility.

On the other hand there are some elements of Brethren culture which are becoming increasingly significant as universal behavior patterns. For example, the doctrine of nonresistance and uncompromising condemnation of war, seems to be clearly gaining broader recognition among the other religious groups since the World War.

The principle of plain and unpretentious living, based on simple and practical economy, has something of permanent value for modern civilization. This principle has gained considerable recognition during the recent years of business depression in its various aspects. Particularly is this true in rural communities.

Another Brethren pattern which has stood the test is the democratic spirit which prevails in all religious services, as well as in all other group procedure.

Not the least among Brethren traits which have weathered the storms of conflict and social evolution is the unconditional acceptance of the New Testament as the only valid culture creed. Hence the church is free from arbitrary creedal laws, for the New Testament is subject to reinterpretations as enlightenment and human experience shed new light on its meaning.

It remains, therefore, for the Church of the Brethren to preserve for the race, the fundamental tenets of her faith; to prove the value of the culture forms which her people employ; and to filter them into the larger streams of culture which flow thru the open channels of society.

It is now obviously impossible for the Brethren to remain in any real sense "a separate people" as they chose to be in the beginning. The fabric of their culture is interwoven with the forms and patterns of all the different religious groups with which they have come in close contact. Cultural diffusion and assimilation are gradually erasing the lines of cleavage which were once so carefully marked. There is much that the Church of the Brethren can borrow from other groups, even now, which would enrich her own culture and perceptibly "leaven the whole lump."

But one could scarcely hope for more rapid progress in the cultural development in a religious group, than that which this group of people has experienced since the beginning of the present century. It is safe to assume that the majority of the Brethren themselves are not aware of what is happening to them, culturally.

Various sociologists have pointed out the dangers involved in too rapid changes of social structures, lest the cultural adjust-

ments may lag behind and society become the victim of its own conflicting forces. This caution is applicable here. But the writer sees little danger of cultural collapse in the Church of the Brethren in the near future, since all of the departments and agencies of the church which share the responsibilities of promoting group interests are strongly coördinated and unified. Hence they function as cultural balances, one against the other.

The present cultural trends among the Brethren, therefore, reflect the influence of current social forces. The direction is toward the open road of modern culture. One who would dare to predict the future developments in the Church of the Brethren will need the spirit of vision which possessed the sainted revelator when he bore the inspired message to the ancient church at Philadelphia: "Behold I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it."

APPENDIX

The enlarged chart accompanying this appendix is a graphic presentation of data obtained by a questionnaire survey of 107 churches distributed thruout the entire Brotherhood of the Church of the Brethren.

From the official list of 1,029 churches published in the Yearbook of the Church of the Brethren for 1931, 200 churches were selected arbitrarily by choosing every fifth church as it appeared in the complete alphabetical list. This gave a group of representative churches well distributed geographically and including all types, large and small, weak and strong, old and young. It may be termed an unselected group.

The data secured by analysis of these representative units would certainly be fairly representative of the conditions which exist thruout the entire Brotherhood, since the group chosen constitutes about one-fifth of the entire number.

A questionnaire was prepared by the author and sent to the pastor or elder in charge of each of these 200 churches. For the churches which have pastors the questionnaire was sent to the pastor; for those which have no pastor it was sent to the elder in charge.

In response to this questionnaire reports were received from 107 of the churches to which they were sent. Upon the data presented in the reports of these 107 churches, the accompanying chart is drawn, and various interpretations which appear in this volume are based.[1]

The writer believes that the number of cases included in this study is sufficiently large, and that they are fairly representative of the entire body, to justify valid conclusions regarding the Church of the Brethren as a whole based on these reports.

1. Reports from 12 additional churches were received too late to be included in this study. The data which they present conform closely to the majority of others reporting.

The questions upon which this survey was made were built around eight central factors concerning the Brethren, namely: (1) family life, (2) business and professional interests, (3) education, (4) the young people, (5) church services, (6) the ministry, (7) social life and recreation, (8) religious environment.

The responses to the questions concerning the last two of these factors are omitted from the accompanying chart, because they involve many lengthy statements which would be difficult to chart with numerical data, and because the responses are too varied and general to be of much significance in drawing generalizations concerning group practices.

In regard to social life and recreation in connection with the local churches, there is apparently no uniformity, or regularity in any particular type of social activity among the churches. Many of the reports indicate attempts to provide for social activities of some sort, but the majority simply report the conventional Sunday-school class "socials" and church suppers as the most prevalent group gatherings of a social nature. The usual types of recreation are reported for the young people of the churches, depending on the locality and recreational facilities. Movies, ball games, outdoor sports, swimming, picnics, auto riding, card parties, and dances, are among the types reported. The evidence points to growing participation by Brethren young people in forms of recreation which the church has always bitterly condemned, as for example, playing cards and dancing. These two, however, were mentioned only a few times on the returned questionnaires.

Concerning the last division of the questionnaire, that of religious environment, the purpose was, to determine certain social trends as to the relations of Brethren with people of other denominations. No significant evidence was secured, however, except to show that in about 90 per cent of the churches the Brethren are in close cultural contact with peoples of other faiths. There are churches of three or more other denominations in 43 per cent of the communities where Brethren churches are

located. This has significance in terms of the general wide-spread influence of culture fusion among these religious groups. The pastors and elders of 45 per cent of the churches, however, state that the Church of the Brethren exerts more influence than other denominations over the social life of their communities.

The data presented in the other six divisions of the questionnaire are tabulated on the statistical chart which follows this page. Much of the material presented has already been discussed and interpreted in detail in connection with the various culture phenomena contained in this volume.

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